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ITALY,
AUSTRIA, AND THE POPE.

A Letter
TO
SIR JAMES GRAHAM, BART.
BY
JOSEPH MAZZINI.

“They made an exile — not a slave of me.” — BYRON.
“Where thou findest a lie that is oppressing thee, extinguish it. Lies exist there
only to be extinguished; they wait and cry earnestly for extinction.”
THOS. CARLYLE.

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1845.



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TO

THE RIGHT HON. SIR JAMES GRAHAM, BART.

HOME SECRETARY.

SIR,

To you, for certain unexpected reasons, I will crave leave to dedicate this Pamphlet on the Affairs of Italy. It embodies my authentic views on the social questions which now agitate that Country. You will find here in brief compass what I mean and endeavour in regard to it, and what I shall continue to mean and endeavour, no more and no less. Valuable time need not henceforth be spent in deciphering invitations to tea and expressions of sympathy for my Italian School sent me by English friends. The purport of my private correspondence is, has been and will continue to be —this.

Yours,

With all due respect,

JOSEPH MAZZINI.

May 1845.

SIR,

I thank you much for having afforded me the long desired opportunity, to lay before a free nation, full of generous instincts, the sorrows of a brave, unhappy, misunderstood people : — to depose at its bar the complaints of twenty or twenty two millions of men, whose fathers headed the march of civilisation in Europe, and who demand for themselves and that same Europe, to be made partakers of the large, free, active and continually progressive life which God has ordained for his creatures.

By the spiritual and temporal, the domestic and foreign oppressions that lie heavy upon them, — they are to-day deprived of all liberty of thought, of speech, and of action.

You, Sir, so far as in you lay, have aggravated our unhappy position.

When you opened my correspondence at the desire of one or several of our governments, you scattered germs of mistrust in the heart of our youth — you proved to them that the Union of the Governments against us is complete, — you destroyed the *prestige* which in their eyes attached itself to the respected name of England.

But you at the same time also revealed to me, to me an Italian, exiled for the national cause, a duty which in part I am able to accomplish. That mistrust which you have caused to germinate must be destroyed, — for the good of *my* country and the honour of *yours*, I must demonstrate to my fellow-countrymen that they would err, in confounding the English Government with the English Nation. Whilst calling forth (so far as it may be done by a solitary individual) an expression of public opinion in favour of our sacred cause, I must prove to Italy that on the day when her national Flag borne by strong and pure hands shall float in the wind, here as every where else it will be greeted with active sympathy. — Moreover whilst I repel, not for ourselves alone but also for the cause we represent in a foreign land, all that is odious and misunderstood in that term *Conspiracy*, all the suspicion, Sir, that your calculated silence casts upon our actions, I must at the same time reveal to all how completely the strife in which the noblest amongst us have so long been engaged is for us an affair of Duty, — and that the means whereby we endeavour to work our end are those that are alone left for us. — We take our stand upon this ground, and God willing we shall maintain it, as calumniated, yet proud ; as honourable, altho' dishonourably opposed, calm and firm before God and our own consciences, the only judges we can recognise, in the exceptional position wherein we have been thrown.

It is so much the more necessary that all this should be made manifest, because throughout the whole of the controversy arising out of the shameful transaction of the letter opening, the cause of the Italian People has not obtained a single decisive manifestation of sym-

pathy. By the Press as well as within the House, the cause has been admirably pleaded so far as the individuals whom it so nearly touched were concerned, so far as concerned the Country whose character for honour and loyal good faith was implicated, but the question as it concerned Italy has not even been touched upon.

The *means* have been condemned, but none have troubled themselves to enquire into the *end* for which it was used. All men proclaimed the practice to be immoral, but none turned his attention to the theory involved and of which the act in question was only an application, bold it is true to shamelessness, but nevertheless strictly logical. — Upon every side all voices have cried out to you, Sir, : “ You have no right to
 “ open the letters of this man any more than those of
 “ other men ; you have not the right to interfere in the
 “ affairs of other people : restrict yourself to watching
 “ that the safety of the kingdom be not directly
 “ menaced, and do not by overstepping these limits,
 “ violate the rights of individuals ; ” — but I know no one who has risen up to say : “ you have rendered
 “ yourself doubly culpable in opening the private
 “ correspondence of this man, you have by so doing
 “ not only violated the rights of an individual, whose
 “ conduct towards us, Englishmen, is irreproachable
 “ — you have violated the law of Nations, the law of
 “ all the world and of God who governs it. — Placed
 “ between right and wrong, you have chosen the
 “ wrong. Between a flagrant injustice sustained by
 “ brute force, and the efforts of those who were endeavouring to put it down, you have declared yourself for *brute force* — you have ranged England on
 “ the side of the oppressors against the oppressed, —
 “ on the side of the executioner against the victim, —

“ you have raised her fair standard in the service of
 “ European despotism ; for the national motto :
 “ *Religious and Political Liberty for the whole world,*
 “ you have substituted the motto : *Liberty for us,*
 “ *Tyranny for all the world beside.* As if egotism
 “ could ever be made the basis of freedom, as if the
 “ true interest of England could ever be contrary to
 “ the Law of God : *Love of all, for all ; Amelioration*
 “ *and development of all, by all.*

It is here however as it seems to me that the whole point of the question lies, for you and for your countrymen. Now that we are once warned, it matters little to us whether you open our letters or not : either we shall write nothing that can compromise our poor friends, or else we shall not transmit them by the Post : — that which it does concern us more nearly to know, is, whether in her efforts and in the struggle which is preparing, Italy is to count upon one enemy more. It signifies little to the country which you represent — or rather which I trust you do *not* represent—whether you have usurped one illegitimate prerogative more or less; if uprightness be not in your heart or in your political tendencies, you would always possess sufficient power to do ill ; — but that which it does concern this country to know is to ascertain whither it is being led : it must be precisely informed upon the principles of your international policy — it behoves it to take care that Government does not prostitute its name to diplomatic *chancelleries* nor consign it to the maledictions of the mothers of Italy, or the contempt of brave men who suffer for well doing. Twenty warrants no more than *eight*, (the righteous yearly number according to the Lords’ Committee) will not retard the progress of the cause of Italian liberty ; but one single warrant given

by the Government of a people professing to be free and christian, with a design to protect an unjust cause affixes a lasting stain upon the honour of the country, gives to others a temptation to immorality, and augments every where that want of faith in virtue, and in political honesty, which is the principal feature of our epoch.

One man only amongst you, Members of the Cabinet, has felt this. Whilst you, Sir James, confined yourself to presenting us as the final solution of a problem in morality the dead letter of an Act that broke out of a state of things altogether different to yours, — he saw at once that your cause was irredeemably lost, unless you could ground it upon some general *principle*, and he sought for a justification of the *espionage* exercised against me in a definition of the mission of England in Europe. — “It is” said the Duke of Wellington in his place on the fourth of July 1844 “it is the proud
“distinction of the policy of this country that our
“object and our interest is not only to remain at
“peace ourselves with the whole world, but to main-
“tain peace throughout the world and to promote the
“independence, the security and the prosperity of
“every country in the world,” — I accept, for my part, this definition as it stands, and I find it very superior to all those theories of non-intervention under which all questions of inter-national order and European progress are effaced, and nothing left but petty questions of individual claims. — The absolute non-intervention doctrine in politics, appears to me to be what indifference is in matters of Religion, viz : a disguised atheism — the negative, without the vitality of a denial, of all belief, of all general principles, of every mission of nations on behalf of Humanity. We

are all thank God bound to each other in the world, and all that has ever been transacted upon it, that has been good, great, or eminently progressive, has taken place owing to Intervention. I am only astonished that in the midst of Parliament where these words were uttered, no one arose amongst all those who have recently travelled this Italy, or who study her history were it only in the journals — to say to him :

“ Security ! peace ! independence ! my Lord ! that is
 “ precisely what the man is seeking for his country,
 “ whose correspondence your colleagues have violat-
 “ ed — it is what was sought by those men who were
 “ shot some months since in Calabria, possibly in
 “ consequence of this violation. — There is no *Se-*
 “ *curity* except under Laws, under wise laws voted
 “ by the best men, sanctioned by the love of the
 “ people ; and there are no laws in Italy ; there is in-
 “ stead the caprice of eight detested masters, and of a
 “ handful of men chosen by these masters to second
 “ their caprice. There can be no *peace*, except where
 “ there is harmony between the Governors and the
 “ Governed, where the Government is the Intelligence
 “ of the country directing it, and the people the arm
 “ of the country executing his decrees, — and do you
 “ not hear the echo of the fusillades of Bologna and
 “ of Cosenza attesting *Strife*? a strife, my Lord, which
 “ amidst the tears of the good and the blood of the
 “ brave has gone on without ceasing for fifty years,
 “ between moral force which protests by the scaffold,
 “ and violence which seeks to stifle protestation in
 “ blood ? and as to *Independence* you know well,
 “ my Lord, that that word as applied to Italy is bitter irony ;
 “ you well know that nearly one fourth part of the
 “ whole peninsula is governed by an army of 80,000

“ Austrians, and that the Princes who govern the
 “ remainder, are, in spite of themselves, nothing
 “ more than the Viceroys of Austria; and if a cry for
 “ Liberty, for progress or for amelioration arise from
 “ the bosom of any of these Viceroyalties, the Aus-
 “ trian army, in spite of the principles that England
 “ and France have proclaimed ten times within the
 “ last twenty years, comes forward to silence it with its
 “ *veto*. The mission that your words trace out for our
 “ country is very beautiful, my Lord; a mission of
 “ protection, of fraternal benevolence, a generalisation
 “ so far as is possible of the benefits we enjoy, such in
 “ truth is the mission a christian nation would do
 “ well to exercise; but how can you make it work
 “ along with your sanction of the system of espionage?
 “ with your protection of the *Carcere duro*, and of the
 “ scaffold? Do they desire good or evil, justice or
 “ injustice those men whom it is endeavoured to brand
 “ by styling them Revolutionists? Therein lies the
 “ whole question, and have you taken the trouble to
 “ examine it? They desire to obtain the same
 “ liberty which *We*—let it not be forgotten, through a
 “ revolution—are now enjoying: liberty of conscience to
 “ give them a Religion, of which at present thanks to the
 “ despotism under which they lie, they have only a
 “ parody — liberty of speech, that they may preach
 “ righteousness; liberty of action, that they may put it
 “ into practice; the liberty, my Lord, which *we* pro-
 “ mised them along with* independence when you were
 “ Commander in Chief of the Allied Armies, and
 “ when we stood in need of their aid to overthrow,

* Manifesto of G. Bentinck Admiral of the British Fleet, May 14,
 1814.

“ Napoleon. They desire for a state of things, the
 “ elements of which are hatred, mistrust, and fear,
 “ to substitute a condition under which they would
 “ be able to know each other, to love each other, to
 “ help each other onwards towards one common aim.
 “ They desire to destroy chimeras, to extinguish
 “ falsehood, to bury out of sight corpses that are aping
 “ life; in order to put in their stead, a *Reality*;
 “ something *true*, acting, living, a power which shall
 “ be strong enough to guide them, and to which they
 “ may without shame yield allegiance. They desire
 “ to *Live*, my Lord, to live with all the faculties of their
 “ being, to live as God commands; — to walk on-
 “ wards with the rest of the world,— to have brethren
 “ and not spies around them, — to have instructors,
 “ and not masters,— to have a *home* and not a prison.
 “ Can you imagine that England is exercising her
 “ mission when she says to them — *No! The World*
 “ *goes onwards, but ye shall be stationary : there is no*
 “ *God for you, ye have the Emperor of Austria and the*
 “ *Pope. Ye are of the race of Cain, of the accursed*
 “ *race ; ye are the Pariahs of Europe : resign yourselves*
 “ *in silence, suffer in all your members, but stir not,*
 “ *seek not for relief, because Europe slumbers, and you*
 “ *might disturb her repose ?* — Christ, my Lord, also
 “ fulfilled a revolutionary Mission. He came to
 “ destroy the chimeras and the idols of the old world :
 “ he destroyed the *peace* of paganism. In the face of
 “ a religion which sanctioned distinction of races,
 “ of castes, of natures, — he announced a
 “ religion, the fundamental doctrine of which
 “ was the unity of the human family, the offspring of
 “ God, in order that we might arrive at universal
 “ brotherhood. Would you, my Lord, had you been

“ living then, in the name of *Peace* and of the established Governments, have declared yourself on the side of Herod against Jesus ? ”

The Italian question is very little understood in England. People know in general terms that the country is suffering, but few are aware to what a height that suffering has arrived. They know that some efforts are making to change its manner of Government, but they believe it is by a mere handful of conspirators, destitute of influence and not possessing the sympathies of the masses, without any thing in short, except the blind and dangerous promptings of their own hearts.

In Italy nothing speaks : silence is the common law. The people are silent by reason of terror, the masters are silent from policy. Conspiracies, strife, persecution, vengeance, all exists, but make no noise : they excite neither applause nor complaint ; one might fancy the very steps of the scaffold were spread with velvet, so little noise do heads make when they fall. The stranger in search of health, or the pleasures of arts passes throu’ this fairy land on which God has lavished without measure all the gifts which he has divided amongst the other lands of Europe ; — he comes upon a spot where the soil has been recently stirred, and he does not suspect that he is treading on the grave of a martyr. The earth is covered with flowers, the Heaven above smiles with its divine aspect : the cry of misery which from time to time convulses his native country, is rarely heard here ; and two great epochs of the human race — two worlds, the world of paganism, and the world of middle age, Christianity, — lie before him to study, — what cares he for the *Present* ? He says to himself : there is here

abundance of food, there is sunshine, there is music in the air ; what more can this indolent race desire ? —

Other men too, men of figures, statistics, utilitarians, go their ways, judging of Italy as they would of any other country in a normal state, neglecting on one hand the great fact of the slavery, and the trampling down of all the indigenous elements ; and on the other hand the strength of vitality, the desire to *live* which in spite of all obstacles, is beginning to dawn upon us : — they meet here and there with fragments of superficial reform, they give the honour of it, not to our efforts or the spirit that sustains us in the strife, but to our governments, and they exhort us to have patience — to confine ourselves to pacific efforts for homeopathic amelioration, which alone seems to conciliate their lukewarm desire for the good and what they are pleased to term the repose of Europe. They abdicate at the frontier every thing like Faith, remembrances and high heroic and social views. The idea of *Nation* is too abstract for them. They see in Italy nothing but a country, a surface of so many thousand square miles, peopled by so many million *bodies*, (the souls do not enter into their calculation) for whom all that can reasonably be expected from their political rulers, is a certain amount of food, clothing, and of material comforts, — *panem et circenses* : — As the Guter Franz effaced from his plan of Spielberg, the *Man*, in order that he might remember nothing but the *numbered* prisoner, they would willingly efface the name of Italy from the map of Europe, in order to substitute for it a cipher. And above all this, influencing at once both the thoughtless traveller and self styled practical men, hovers the *Væ victis!* the adoration of the actual, the incessant confusion of Might with Right. You have

risen up twice, thrice : twice, thrice, have you fallen; you are then destined to suffer. We side only with the strong — we adore Victory. The cry is brutal ; still it influences the entire question, it engenders the indifference of the people and directs the proceeding of the Governments. We, exiled patriots have our letters opened, whilst it is highly probable, Sir James, that you would respect the missives of Italian monarchy, or republic, or at least that you would only open them on your own account. —

Beyond these two classes of observers another party is formed, who may be called *your* party — the governmental party — that which holds up Austria as the civilizing power in Italy ; it says :
 “ Peace, peace, we must have peace, at any price, were
 “ it even the peace of the tomb. Italy is disturbed,
 “ her princes are weak, Austria is strong : Austria
 “ cannot help but extend her influence by one means
 “ or other over the whole country. The Lombard-
 “ Venetian Provinces are less unhappy, are better ad-
 “ ministered than the other States of Italy : — there
 “ is amongst them some trace of progress, whilst there
 “ is none amongst the States of the Pope or elsewhere ;
 “ it is advantageous that the paternal government of
 “ Metternich, and the Aulic Council would extend
 “ itself beyond the Po : it is advisable that by the
 “ exercise of its sway, it should repress both the agi-
 “ tation amongst the people, and the needless caprices
 “ of the Kings of Italy. ”

The difference would not be great between this argument, and that which an Italian might use, who seeing the continually increasing agitation of Ireland, and the powerlessness hitherto of England to repress it, should conclude, that a more energetically

despotic hand was needed to control it, and should go to seek for it in a foreign land, in Russia for instance. The question of nationality, the one important point, is entirely overlooked.

Evidently, of all parties, this one is the most grossly immoral. Fostered by a commercial treaty, it has been adopted by you, Sir, not in consequence of an erroneous *conviction*, but it in consequence of a false line of policy which prompts you to seek in a government which only lives in his immobility, an ally, in the war with Russia, which you foresee will sooner or later become inevitable. It finds however some favour in England. Openly preached by the tory journals during the last italian disturbances, it relies on some statistical details given in the book of a Prussian* who passed through Italy in 1840, furnished with letters of introduction from Prince de Metternich, and repeated by other travellers who find it more easy to copy, than to observe for themselves. These details are inexact, incomplete and partially false. — It is *not* true that the Italian provinces under the austrian rule are well governed ; — it is *not* true that the habits and local tendencies of those provinces are consulted and provided for by a special administration ; — it is *not* true that central, provincial, municipal assemblies free to speak, unshackled, sure of being listened to, form, as has been asserted, a species of representative Constitution for Lombardy ; — it is *not* true that owing to the care of a paternal government, the material comforts are so great as to cause it to be forgotten, (not by Italians, that is out of question thank God, but forgot-

* Von Raumer.

ten by you English) that our government is a foreign yoke, which deprives us of what is the most precious to a man in this world, Independence, Spontaneity, Liberty.

No doubt of it, Lombardy is in a state of progress; exhausted as they have wished to make it, the heart of the country still beats: no doubt of it; elementary instruction is getting diffused, industry multiplies its efforts, population is on the increase, But what is there in all this which the vitality that is in us, the movement going on in Europe around us, the necessarily progressing order of things, and twenty nine years of peace, are not sufficient to account for? To prove the disadvantage of a foreign and despotic government, must all Lombardy sink to wreck like Venice? And because, it seems, we *can* and *will* live—live for the Future and for the destinies that are in store for us—does this make any alteration in the question with regard to Austria? You compare the year 1839 with 1829 or with any other year of the period beginning from 1815. Why don't you compare the State of Lombardy during all that period, with its state during a former period, were it even the stormy one of the Cisalpine Republic, were it what we are far from regarding favourably, that of the kingdom of Italy? Why don't you study with Gioja the force of our vitality in the symptoms which revealed themselves at the breath, nothing but the breath, of liberty from 1796 to 1799; as contrasted with the thirteen months of Austrian possession which immediately followed? Or rather, if you would know what Lombardy independent of foreign power is capable of, why not go back to the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries? Why not compare with the paltry advances

so pompously signalized at the present day, the 200,000 inhabitants of Milan at that time, its seventy manufactories of cloth, its 60,000 workers in wool and its forty millions of francs, which five cities alone, Milan, Como, Pavia, Cremona, and Monza, exported solely in wool, every year, by the port of Venice? We advance, you say; yes, doubtless we advance thank God; all the stationary genius of Mr. de Metternich cannot dry up the sap which ferments in our old Italian race; but are you aware what tears and sweat every step of progress costs in that quarter? Are you aware that such industrial enterprises, seen in action now, derive their origin from attempts in 1818, and helped at that period to drive towards the Spielberg those who first conceived them? Are you aware how many of those schools the diffusion of which fills you with admiration owe their existence only to individual generosity and to unheard of perseverance? Have you ascertained if those decrees of organisation which you cite with so much complacency be other than tardy ratifications of facts accomplished, through a mass of obstacles, by zealous and pious men belonging to the country? Have you ascertained if all these protections granted, are not a means adopted by Austria, to give a false direction to what it could not hinder from growing up?

I will now declare what the Austrian Government in Lombardy really is.

It appears to me essential to devote a few pages to it in this place, because if I can prove, not to you, Sir James, and your colleagues, but to all who read this without having previously made up their minds, that Austria so far from being, even as regards the bodily welfare of the inhabitants, a civilizing power in Italy, is the declared enemy of all progress, of all

amelioration, I may spare myself all trouble as regards the other Italian Governments, because your own organs confess them to be all execrable, requiring to be overturned altogether, unless speedily reformed. —

In Lombardy there is a Viceroy ; he has the supreme regency ; all the reports of the Governors are sent to him : he gives audiences, and a royal chancery surrounds him. There is then a local Government, say the partizans of Austria ; and they only forget one thing, which is, the list of prerogatives this Government *has not*.

It is in Vienna, where all taxes direct and indirect are imposed, — all regulations concerning the Post-Office made — and nearly all the higher officers under Government, the *Podestà*, the Delegates, the Deputies of the Central Congress, the Councillors of Tribunals, the *Governo*, the *Magistrato Camerale*, the Administrators of Finance, the Prefect of the *Monte-di-Pietà*, every individual employed in any new institution, the Professors of the schools, &, are nominated. Vienna enjoys the prerogative of fixing the salaries of Government employés, all pensions, the distribution of the funds for the yearly expenditure, the approval of all new undertakings the expenses of which will exceed 3,000 florins, and of all speculations going beyond that sum. Vienna legislates for all that concerns private sales without auction, for all extra expenditure ; it decrees all military levies ; it chooses the subjects of instruction, &, &. Vienna in one word possesses the whole Legislative Power ; the Executive works timidly, because it is liable to central control and reprimand : Italian officers are to send copies of their Registers to Vienna.

It is at Vienna from amongst the Austrians and the Tyrolese, that a great number of the Government employés in Lombardy are selected. It has been said that an almost equal number of Italians find employment at Vienna*; the statement is false, even as regards numbers. But granting it were correct, is it not miserable shuffling to compare the *subaltern* posts filled by some few Italians at Vienna lost in the extent of a wide organisation, with the, *important* places filled at Milan, by Austrians, in the midst of an infinitely more limited order of things? — I subjoin the list of the principal posts filled by foreigners in the Lombard-Venitian Provinces, and let the reader judge for himself.

Chancery of the Viceroy : two Aulic Councillors out of the three which compose it.

Giunta I. R. del Censimento. (CENSUS) : the Vice-president, a Councillor.

Government : the Governor, the Vice-president, a Councillor : two Secretaries : the Dispatching Director.

Police : the Director General ; an Asssistant, a Secretary, five upper Commissaries ; five subaltern Commissaries ; nearly all the corps of the Police Military Guard : Commandant, Captains, Lieutenants, &.

Censorship : a Censor.

University ; a Director and three Professors.

Veterinary School : the Director.

Schools of Philosophy and Gymnastics : eleven Professors†.

Magistrato Camerale (Fiscal) : the President ; a

* Raumer.

† Several of them, it is true, are directed to teach the german language.

Secretary, the Inspector in Chief of the Guards of the Confines ; the Vice-secretary.

The Mint : the Director.

The Post-Office : the Director, and twenty two subalterns.

Inspection of the Tobacco Manufactory : the Inspector.

Guards of the Confines : all the Commissaries, except four.

Tribunals. Milan. — *Tribunal of Appeal* : the President and nine Councillors, out of twenty five.

..... *Tribunal of the first Instance* : the President and two Councillors.

..... *Criminal Tribunal* : six Councillors.

Brescia. — *Tribunal of the first Instance* : the President.

Cremona. — id. id.

Bergamo. — id. id.

Como. — id. id.

Pavia. — id. id.

Sondrio. — id. id.

The Army : nearly the whole of the military hierarchy.

From this list, and the functions reserved to itself by Vienna, it is easy to perceive what is the Government (Governo) properly speaking. It is nothing but an intermediate link, a secondary wheel in a more important mechanism, performing the work of the *Congregazioni* (Assemblies), Delegations, &, but able to do scarcely any thing by itself, *signing* notifications,

which do not emanate from it, and possessing no power except to receive the emoluments of office.

Let us now examine into the degree of power possessed by the Central, Provincial and Municipal Assemblies.

The limits are clearly defined in the § 24 and 25 of the letters patent embodying these Assemblies the 24th of April 1815.

“ We permit the Central Assembly, respectfully to
 “ present before us, the wants, wishes, and petitions
 “ of the nation, as to all that regards the public ad-
 “ ministration, *reserving it to ourselves to consult it*
 “ *whenever we consider it necessary.*

“ *The Central Assembly, has not the right to*
 “ *make either General Ordonances, nor Statutes on*
 “ *Taxes and Imposts, nor can it exercise by itself or in*
 “ *own name any act of Authority Legislative, Judicial,*
 “ *or Executive. ”*

What then *is it* allowed to do ? —

It may *speak*, upon the *Comptes-rendus* of towns and Communes, upon the dikes of rivers and works of a similar kind, plans for bridges and causeways, in as much as they are executed at the expense of the Provinces, not at that of the State ; — and upon institutions of public charity.

Speak I say, because even on these matters the Central Assemblies have only a general inspectorship, and their province is to merely *suggest* fundamental maxims. They are obliged, within fourteen days from their sittings, to submit the results of their labours to the Government and if they are approved of, they are published in its name. And notwithstanding by how many precautions is not this helplessness surrounded ! — Composed of noble

citizens, of citizens not noble, and of the representatives of royal towns, they are presided over by the Governor of the territory*. The nomination of the Members is reserved to the Sovereign, who chooses them out of lists furnished by the Provincial Assemblies, and in the royal towns by the Councils of the Communes: their functions continue six years, and they can be re-elected; none can resign without sovereign permission. They receive from Government an annual salary of 2,000 florins; the members of the Provincial Assemblies receive nothing, in order that they may strive by their conduct and deserve to be promoted to the Central Assemblies.

The provincial assemblies are regulated upon the same basis; — they are in their functions as compared to the central assemblies, what those are with regard to the Government. They are presided over by the royal Delegate. The Sovereign had choice of the members when the assemblies were first instituted; since that time, it has been delegated to the Communes to propose the candidates: the provincial assemblies form triple lists out of those proposed; these lists go to the central assemblies and thence to the Government, which either confirm them or not.

But is not the liberty denied to the States and Provinces, granted at least to the Communes, where the insignificance of the jurisdiction precludes all danger of a strong opposition to the central power?

* He gives his vote as member of the Congregation; and examines afterwards, in his *quality of President of the Government*, the report addressed to him. The Assembly consequently knows before hand that it cannot give a vote contrary to that of its President, without having the Government opposed to it.

Far from it. The Common Councils, such as they were organised by the Government Patents of the 12th of February and the 12th of April 1816, assemble regularly twice a year, in January or February to revise the expences of the preceeding year and in September and October to examine into those for the year following. The royal Delegate and the Commissary of the district are present during the sittings, gens-d'armes being at the door, to watch over the proceedings, to call over laws and regulations, and to dissolve the Councils every time that they venture by a hair's breadth to overstep the prescribed limits, — that is to say, the interior administration of the communal territory. The Councils cannot incur any liability whatever, nor elect amongst themselves, without previously obtaining permission from a higher power, a single functionary for the service of the Commune; they cannot constitute a Procureur General or Special, they cannot accept or refuse an inheritance, or a legacy or donation of any kind, and the minutes of their proceedings must be sent up to Government which can either sanction them or not. Whenever the class of proprietors is numerous, a certain number are taken from amongst them to form part of the Council. The election of members (made in the first instance by the Government) emanates from the Provincial Assemblies, out of a double list furnished by the Common Councils, the approval of the second delegation being necessary. They remain in office three years.

In the chief towns of the Provinces and in the royal towns there exists a Municipal Assembly; the chief (*Podestà*) must be a land owner and a noble, and the Government appoints him, as he appoints the assessors; the division of affairs amongst the assessors

must be subject to the approbation of the Royal Delegate. I subjoin in a note some facts which prove the utter powerlessness of the Municipal Assemblies*. But

* The Company of Sappers and Miners at Milan is supported at the expense of the Commune, which pays even to the annual rent of the Barracks *delle Grazie*, where they reside ; nevertheless the Commune has not the least authority over them, On solemn public occasions which require the presence of some individuals of this body, the Municipal Assembly must bespeak the courtesy of the Director General of Police. in order that he may condescend to invite the Commandant of the corps to provide them. When any modification in the costume of the Corps is requisite, the sanction of the Royal Delegation, and of the Director of Police must first be obtained.

The Government I. R. severely reprimanded the Municipal Body for having in 1836, expended 50 austrian livres in a Signet, without applying to the I. R. Mint. They were reprimanded for a payment of 700 livres, made by the Commune to a physician who had been engaged in 1835, 36, 37, to superintend the execution of the sanitary arrangements. They were reprimanded by the Government for a daily salary granted by the Common Council to a lamplighter, which exceeded 45 centimes : they were reprimanded for paying by the year instead of every three months for the municipal advertisements inserted in the privileged Gazette of Milan.

The Government interference is so minute that in 1840 a long dispatch directed the Government of Milan to call together the municipal assembly in order that it might explain why in the annual statistics of arts and trades in 1839 there had been 103 tailors marked, whereas, in that of 1838 the number indicated 105. The same Chamber hit upon a scheme to promulgate the laws whereby all the Communes, and all the employés were obliged to subscribe to the bulletin of laws published annually by the Government, not so much, as the dispatch naively observed, that the laws might become known, as the treasury might be profited. And it cited the russian Government as realising 300,000 thalers a year by this tax.

There is no need to enlarge on the natural dislike every body has to enter upon any sort of business with the Communes and Municipalities on account of the tardiness and the endless hindrances which

have I not said enough upon the internal construction of these pretended local powers, to enable candid men to perceive, that all which has been organised of this sort of things, has been with the intention of shewing the Italians an outward semblance, and not to give them the reality? Local power! Why, every affair of whatever nature that exceeds the value of a hundred francs must be removed to Vienna and be decided there at the risk of some years delay!

It is then indeed Austria which reigns directly and exclusively, in the Lombard-Venetian States.

Now, *how* does she govern it?

Even supposing that she should desire to govern *well*, she would not be able to do so.—The distance from the head Government, the customs of a different race, the secret resistance from all that is national in the country which goes on against the invaders, and imposes upon them mistrust and persecution as a necessity, besides all this, the Chinese principle of immobility represented in Europe by Austria, (and which the hetrogenous elements of which she is composed will not allow her to abandon without ruin) would suffice to annihilate the best intentions in the world. Happily (and this expression in the mouth of a declared enemy ought to surprise no one) happily, she has none. We may fight without constraining ourselves, without any sacrifice of gratitude. Austria is well aware that she *encamps* in Italy for a time; she has no other

inevitably result from this strange dependency, for instance the discussion between a Commune of the Bergamasque and that of another province about a conscript, which lasted beyond the eight years fixed for his services. A legacy of 3 lire and 64 centimes left by a poor devil who died in prison at Mantua in 1835, was not paid to his sister until 1840,—

intentions except to prolong as much as possible this indefinite period and to *exploiter* to the utmost, the territory which at present she possesses. *As far as she can, she resists all movement, and progress. When this progress seems on the point of accomplishing its ends by its own strength, she takes possession of it, she sanctions it, to deaden its consequences, and to deceive Europe.* There results from these double tactics, a system of imposture, a system of appearances, which cannot be laid too bare, and of which the two headed Eagle seems to have been chosen for the symbol.

Take public instruction for instance. We will say nothing of the number of primary and other schools; their establishment is due in great measure to the exertion of charitable individuals, and nearly half the expense of supporting them, falls upon the Communes. The question is to ascertain not their *number*, but *what they are*, thanks to the Government which directs them. You say they are opened to *all* citizens, and I tell you, (though that is not singular in England) that the lower orders are in point of fact entirely excluded from them : they possess neither the time nor the means to profit by them ; the poverty of the fathers imposes a law of labour upon the children who ought to repair to them and on the day and evening of Sunday, the only time they are at liberty, there is no instruction. You will cite as a proof of the good intentions of the Government, the law which imposes a slight fine upon the labourer, who neglects to send his children to school, and I in return, cite that law which formally forbids the entrance to schools, to all those children whose ragged clothes betray their poverty : the first law is only a tax which the second proves to be felt.

Faithful to its habit, Austria has hampered as much

as possible our *Italian* movement towards popular instruction, and intellectual developement ; when she saw individual perseverance gradually surmount all obstacles, and *elementary schools*, or *infant asylums*, rise spontaneously here and there, she left to the Community the expense of keeping up these Institutions, and took possession of the Directorship, in order to deaden their utility and fashion them to her own ends : and behold what she has done for them ! The instruction is almost null in its effects ; in the rural *elementary schools* especially. The ignorance and the negligence of the masters are proverbial : their salary is very small and they are not sufficient for the number of scholars all of an age requiring special attention. Mutual instruction is proscribed, the direction of the schools is confined to the curate, to the Commissary, to the Delegate ; they can dismiss the master at their pleasure.

In some of the classes, the subjects of instruction are strangely jumbled ; the third class for example comprehends *fourteen* different topics, all very important, which are to be taught in one single year by a single master, to children eight or nine years old ; in other classes they take up an enormous time. The master is required to make a minute report to Government of the conduct of the scholars ; the information is secret, without control, without reparation for unjust accusations. Morality is neglected ; what they pretend to teach of it, consists of the duties of subjects towards their Sovereign*. *Espionage* is inculcated.

* I wish I could print entire this servile work written to crush the soul and understanding, but the following is a short specimen of it.

Instruction is corrupted, in the *Asylums for Children*, founded by private benevolence, but directed by the Government which does not take the smallest share in their support. Placed in the hands of priests, and of men known for their devotion to the Government, they bend their souls betimes to the yoke of passive obedience. I insert here the time table of one day in the week, taken at random; it will suffice to shew the nature of the education given in those places.

EMPLOYMENT ON THURSDAY.

Time.	9	—9 $\frac{1}{2}$	Roll call, prayers, singing (hymn of the Emperor.)
	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	—10	Exercise of memory upon the psalms.
	10	—10 $\frac{1}{2}$	Breakfast and recreation.

Question : — How ought Subjects to conduct themselves towards their Sovereign?

Answer : — Subjects ought to behave towards their Sovereign like faithful *slaves* towards their *master*.

Question : — Why ought they to behave like *slaves*?

Answer ; — Because the Sovereign is their *Master* and his power extends *over their property, as over their persons*.

Question ; — Is it a blessing that God bestows in giving us good and christian Kings and Superiors!

Answer : — Yes, it is one of the greatest blessings the Deity can bestow when he gives us good and christian Kings and Superiors, such as those under whom we have the happiness to dwell. We ought to pray that God will grant a long life and a long reign to our beloved Monarch.

2721 copies of this catechism together with 13,057 copies of I know not what pitiful servile religious manuel, are distributed annually to the schools in Lombardy, whilst they have not a single Italian history.

10 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 11	Nomenclature for the classes.
11 — 11 $\frac{1}{2}$	Explanation for the above.
11 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 12	Play and prayers.
12 — 12 $\frac{1}{2}$	Arithmetic.
12 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 1	Catechism.
1 — 2	Dinner and prayers.
2 — 3	Writing.
3 — 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	Reading.
3 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 4	Singing (the hymn of the Emperor).
4 — 5	Play and prayers.

The Course of the Gymnasium extends over six years. Latin is taught there. History, geography, arithmetic, algebra, religion, poetry, rhetoric, *one single master is appointed to teach all these things*. Admission into the Gymnasium is retarded until the tenth year, so that a complete course of study cannot be completed until the twenty fifth year. The same system of espionage which marks the elementary schools, is carried on in the Gymnasium; the Government is minutely informed of all that goes on.

Then come the Lyceums employing a two years course of study. In them are taught algebra, physic, mechanics, religion, philology, philosophy, natural history, universal history; *Italian literature* has no place. Philosophy is reduced to a metaphysical maze taught after some german method. Vico, Pagano, Romagnosi, as well as all the great italian thinkers of the 17th century, are absolutely exiled thence. The cabinets of natural philosophy and natural history are shabbily endowed.

The Universities, (the medical, legal, and mathematical Faculties), crown the system and develope

its aim more and more. No one can be a Professor in them without having previously undergone *special* examinations ; and it is *from* Vienna that the questions come which are to be given, and it is *to* Vienna that the answers are sent for approval. Men of high intellect repulse these humiliating conditions, to leave the field free to mediocrities, who obtain the Chairs by all sorts of intrigues at Vienna*, devotion to Austria being in fact the *sine qua non* of success. The avarice of the Government takes advantage of the death of a Professor to appoint for six or eight months a Substitute whose salary is smaller than that of the Professor. The instruction given is upon the themes sent from Vienna ; a maxim, an expression, a word deviating in the least from the prescribed doctrines, involves the loss of the Chair, prison, persecution of all kinds. And this is not the case in the Law studies alone : Hartman is the text prescribed to the fellow countrymen of Rasori, Tommasini, and Buffalini. The organisation of the Faculties is left incomplete and in disorder. In the medical Faculty, Anatomy, and Natural History are entirely taught in nine months. There are no theoretical principles for surgery ; the practical part only is taught. Pathology, midwifery, veterinary, *materia medica*, are jumbled into one and the same year the third ; there is no Chair for pathological and comparative anatomy † ; the same professor being engaged to give surgery lectures one year and

* A Corneliani is preferred to men such as Tommasini, Buffalini, Giacomini. The Chairs in spite of the pretended competitorship are in general the price of some secret service promised or performed.

† The cabinets of anatomy, pathology, and physiology have an endowment which does not exceeds £ 68.

to teach the operating practice the other, the student often finds himself put to one of the most difficult operations, before having tried his hand at the most simple one, before he is even acquainted with the first elements of Surgery. In the legal Faculties, common law is taught from the prolegomenies of the german Zeiler. The professorship of International Law, which was suppressed by the Austrian Government, is replaced by a three days' instruction, in the course of Natural Law. Statistics, taught on a german system, is almost entirely limited to Austria. The commentaries on the Civil Law are more obscure than the text. Political Economy is confined entirely to a justification of the Prohibition System. The instruction in Political Science tends so shamelessly to suppress the *individuality* of the student *that his answers are required to contain the identical words pronounced from the Chair*: at the beginning of the Course the Professor gives notice, *that in his school replies dictated by good sense alone are not received*. In the Mathematical Faculty, which is still worse organised than the other two, I do not know whether there is now an astronomical Chair, but there was none in 1841; perhaps it was feared lest Italian intelligence, gazing on the sublime spectacle of the Universe, should thence learn the secret of the eternally active, eternally progressive Life of God, and despise the inert vegetative existence, in which it is desired to confine it.

Such is the organisation of the University Course of education; for as to the free schools for esthetics, greek and latin literature, archeology, &c, they are not worthy of mention; the choice falls upon professors so ignorant that no one follows them, and the very school where Foscolo presided over impressionable

and inspired youth, is often now obliged to be closed for want of an audience. The lot of the student there is a very melancholy one. He feels himself at the very threshold excluded from social privileges, by the fourteen articles of special prescriptions which are imposed upon him by the Police. He is obliged to give up his ticket of leave to reside in any part of Lombardy, in order to receive one which binds him to a permanent residence at the University. Hunting and fencing are prohibited to him. He is compelled to shave off his moustache, and this is deemed of so much importance, that in 1840 a letter came down from the Governor of Lombardy to stimulate the zeal of the *employés*, and to repress the insubordination of the schools upon this point. Obligated to submit to the forms of a religion he does not believe, subjected to the double surveillance of the academic body and the Police, isolated, by the interdictions and suspicion which attaches, I do not say to all association, but to all *appearance* of association, looked upon with mistrust and brutally insulted on the smallest pretext by the soldiery, and the guards of police, without the least stimulus to emulation, without any esteem in his heart for those who instruct him, with the sword trembling over his head of expulsion in 24 hours for the least fault, if he be not reduced to a state of idiotcy, he may thank the inspiring heaven which is above his head, the grand memories which surround him, and the Italian leaven, that ferments in his soul, and which three centuries of servitude and corruption have not been able to kill. The fees for his matriculation are heavier now than before the entrance of the Austrians, and his feelings are wounded by the inequality which is sanctioned, between the nobles, the land owners, and the sons of *employés*. He

pays again heavy fees upon his examination, the produce of which goes amongst the dignitaries of the University, the Regent, the Directors, the Dean of Faculties, the Professors, the Chancellors, beadles and scribes. The examinations for taking a Doctor's degree are many. And an interval of at least three months between each examination being rigorously insisted upon, he necessarily loses another year when his term of study is completed. It is then only after sixteen years at least, often nineteen, that a young man can succeed in being created a Doctor. Even after that, there are still several years of *alunnato* and of labour without recompence, for all employment is in fact closed against him, the nomination to all posts being in the hands of the *Bureaux de Police*. Another examination must be passed before he can *be* qualified; the number of notaries and advocates is limited; and the architect engineer needs four years' more practice, and ten thousand francs security before he can exercise his profession in peace.

Such, Sir, is a brief abstract of the instruction, the bread of life, distributed by a *paternal* Government to our youth, and in order that it may not apply for it elsewhere, no one can teach even as an elementary master, without government authority : the most conscientious studies which might be pursued under a master who is not authorised are declared null, and there is a prohibition against going to study at foreign universities. This conduct of government is not even justified by its liberality as regards the expenses. A great number of elementary schools and public colleges owe their existence entirely to private endowments †. Government has taken possession of them,

† The famous college of Ghislieri, amongst others.

reduced the capital, and now dissipates the interest.

Let us now leave this, let us quit the sphere of official instruction and see if once all difficulties surmounted, once the intellect confirmed in the *right road*, it is allowed to breathe freely, Alas no! The most minute interference is exercised over all your proceedings. You wish to read in the public Libraries,—whence the cap of the workman is formally excluded—you are refused Gall, Lavater, Alfieri, Byron, Shakespeare. In the book-shops, you can get nothing—immoral romances excepted—of what is printed abroad, not even an edition of Dante by Foscolo, published two years ago in London by Rolandi. You wish to write—and five and six censors remorselessly bar the way.

In the kingdom of Venetian Lombardy there is a censorship for the journals, another censorship for books, confided to two offices *ad hoc*, situated at Milan and at Venice; a third for the Provinces, exercised by the Delegate or any one he may employ to supply his place, for writings which do not exceed a printed sheet; a fourth for engraving and theatrical representations; then special censors for ecclesiastical works and works on medicine and mathematics, &c, all charged to prevent the development of new opinions. There are no political journals except the *Privileged Gazette* at Milan which belongs to Government, and the Police choose the news to be inserted in it. No foreign newspapers are allowed, except those which represent Legitimacy or royal power, and even those are suppressed whenever they contain any thing which displeases. The tax of ten centimes which is imposed on each number is however sufficient to render their circulation next to nothing. It is to Vienna that ap-

plication must be made, before a literary journal can be commenced, it is Vienna which sends or modifies the programma of such journal. There are circulars to interdict the use of little asterisks * * * * and to substitute & & & & for them. *Raumer*, a witness who cannot be suspected confesses that, *dramatic writers are enjoined to place a good prince beside a bad one in their works, whether history bears them out or not.* And when you have satisfied all these exactions—when you have disarmed these rabid curtailers of syllables, by giving up to them the best passages you had written, when at length you appear under the protection of the censor, you are still under the axe. The Police more powerful than are the censors, may turn round upon you, and whether owing to a sudden illumination, or whether in consequence of your having excited imprudent applause — seize, and suppress your work, and confiscate the volumes which have already appeared. That is the fact about translations of foreign historical works collected by *Bettoni*, to which the emperor himself had subscribed for a copy.

I own, Sir, that I grow out of patience, and that I am tempted to believe, I do not say in bad faith alone, but in I know not what bitter irony, whenever I hear murmured the word *intellectual progress*, as the consequent of measures pursued by a government whose real intention was so frankly declared in the famous speech uttered by Francis 1st at Lubiana in 1820 : “ We have no need of knowledge, it is enough for me if my subjects know how to read and write. ” *A me basta che i miei sudditi sappiano leggere e scrivere.* You point to certain elementary works issued by the royal printing press ! but have you read these books ? Do you know (though the fact of a monopoly of all

elementary books being granted to this press ought to have made you guess as much), do you know that their aim is to denationalize us as much as possible? You instance a few incontestable signs of intellectual development, a few illustrious names: is there then nothing short of death, degradation, absolute helplessness, sufficient to prove the evil influence which the leaden yoke of Austria imposes upon our faculties? And do you not perceive that it is precisely from the struggle that these developments take their rise? We are forbidden to print in Lombardy: we print at Lugano on the frontier; we are forbidden to read good foreign books: the contraband trade corrects this absurd prohibition. Is that any reason why you should attribute the steps of progress taken amongst us to the working of the Austrian system? Do you not find the same intellectual progress accomplishing itself in those parts of Italy, (the Papal States, the kingdom of Naples, for example) which you have no scruple in declaring horribly governed? Ah! if your actions—I do not speak to you, Sir James, but to your countrymen—if your actions were more influenced by that principle of Christian brotherhood which fall so often from your lips; if, instead of going by the tradition of I know not what scraps of the treaty of Vienna, you would hold by the eternal covenant of God with his creature; if you could once convince yourself that all injustice sanctioned against one of its members is an injury to Humanity, you would take the pains to become aware that when it was desired, with an anti-national aim, to revive the Institute, Castiglioni refused the Presidency, Manzoni and Torti, names you love to cite, withdrew their claims, —Grossi and

Cattaneo, elected by the members, were repudiated by Government. You would take the trouble to ascertain or to recollect that under this Government, so *favourable to intellectual progress*, not a single literary man of note (Manzoni alone perhaps excepted) has passed through life without meeting with persecution; that since 1814, Foscolo has died here, under your eyes, in exile; Berchet lives so; Pellico, Borsieri and others wore out their chains in Spielberg; Zuccala died of grief in consequence of the persecutions which he brought upon himself by a lecture on Dante; Melchior Gioja was kept eight months in prison without being brought before a judge; Romagnosi, dragged to prison at the age of seventy, declared innocent after eight or ten months imprisonment, found himself deprived of the right of keeping a private school in his own house, and when called by Lord Guilford to a Chair of Jurisprudence at Corfu, his passport was refused.

Let us consider now the prosperity, the financial state of the country. I can on no account accept the question as stated by men whose motto is *panem et circenses*. I should consider that I was sinning against my country and against my own immortal soul. My belief is, that under an unjust, oppressive, illegal government there may be prosperity as a temporary incident, but never as a normal fact; and therefore I have no repugnance to furnish one more proof of it, since it properly belongs to my subject, We are advancing, thank God!—but by means of Austria, or in spite of the Austrian system? There lies the whole question.

Now those who maintain that it is owing to Austria, forget only one fact, which seems to us of

some importance : it is *that the sum total of the revenue over which they rejoice so loudly is subtracted from Lombardy and annually ingulfed in the coffers of Vienna.*

The following is a table of the net revenue of the State ; it will, I hope, prove two things, the manner in which the Lombard population are aggrieved, and the annual loss sustained by the country. I have not comprised in it the amount produced by the Communal taxes, which for the nine provinces amount to 9,446,000 lire (Austrian money) ; because this sum, although it presses heavily on a people already exhausted, does not go to swell the Austrian Treasury.

NET REVENUE OF THE STATE.

DIRECT TAXES.		<i>Austrian Lire.</i>
Territorial taxes and for the maintenance		
of the Dykes		21,973,000
Personal taxes		2,127,000
Taxes on Trade or Commerce		633,000
INDIRECT TAXES.		
Customs		10,363,000
Salt		7,963,000
Tobacco		3,484,000
Consumption in the walled Communes		2,767,000
" in the open Communes		4,872,000
Gunpowder and nitre		109,000
State lands (Biens Démaniaux)		332,000
Stamps		1,418,330
Mortgages, rates, sporting licences		881,000
Consolidated taxes and stamps on weight		
and measures		529,000
Forests		91,000

ADMINISTRATION AND REVENUE DUES.

Property of the Crown assigned to the new	<i>Aust. Lire.</i>
Sinking Fund	4,000
Proceeds of the Sinking Fund . . .	330,000
Lotteries	1,865,000
Securities	58,000
Deduction of 2 per cent on the salaries of	
Government offices	163,000
Sundry proceeds from the Central Treasury	315,000
The Mint is always a source of loss, and was so in 1839, to the amount of 50,000 <i>lire</i> ,	
<hr/>	
Total	60,277,000

This sum of 60,277,000 lires received by Government, *net* of all expenses, leaves Milan every year for Vienna: multiplying it by the number of years which have passed since 1815, (without counting the interest that it would have borne,) it amounts to the sum of 1,748,033,000, removed from circulation in the Venetian-Lombard Provinces, that is to say from amongst a population of about five millions of souls.

The territorial impost (17. 7. centimes for each *scudo*) has never been lowered from what it was during the war-time under the French, notwithstanding the peace that Austria has enjoyed since 1815.

The capitation tax is felt by every individual, but crushes the poorer population in the rural districts. The Customs replace it in the interior of towns; where one frequently sees the custom-house officers (*Finanzieri*) arrest and drag to prison a poor man for having endeavoured to conceal from their vigilance the bread destined for his children.

The tax on handicraft trades and commerce is far heavier than it was under Napoleon.

The system which regulates industry consists in prohibiting all French and English goods, whilst free entrance is allowed to German manufactures ; it possesses all the inconveniences of the protective system, without any of the advantages. The expense of collecting and organizing the Customs is enormous ; the number of people employed, guards of the confines, guards of *Finanza*, &c, is excessive : the latter alone amount to 2,342. These guards, chosen from the dregs of the people, lead an idle and depraved life : invested with uncontrolled authority in all that relates to smuggling, they are a real scourge to the places in which they are stationed, where they commit a host of abuses and spread immorality. As regards smuggling, they do very little to repress it—they sometimes participate in it themselves : it is carried on both in Lombardy and at Vienna, whence they send foreign goods to Milan certificated as home manufactures*. On the other hand, however, they discharge the functions of political spies for Government extremely well. The custom-house regulations and enactments are models of confusion and obscurity.

Salt, tobacco, and nitre, are monopolized ; the manufacture of them is prohibited to private individuals. The Government Factors gain 6. fl. 40. kr. (Austrian currency) upon every ten pounds weight of salt. We have the privilege of buying our salt twice as dear as it can be bought in the Archduchy of Austria, and three times dearer than in Istria or Dalmatia. Yet the salt that comes from Sicily and serves for the con-

* The high functionaries at Vienna *have* meddled in smuggling transactions. Every body in Lombardy can recollect the prosecution that was instituted against the Baron de Mengs, the Director of Finance, for participating in the contraband trade.

sumption of Lombardy, as well as that brought from Istria for the consumers in the Venetian states, stands the Government in nearly the same cost as that derived from the salt-works of the Empire. In Italian Switzerland, whither Austria sends this commodity, salt is sold at less than one half the price we can purchase it at; which of course produces constant smuggling into Lombardy.

I have no need to point out the immorality of lotteries as a source of revenue.

The amount placed against the proceeds of the tax on stamps arises from the regulation, now superseded by the law of the 27th January 1840, published the 1st September of the same year. It has been impossible for me, writing in this country, to ascertain the numerical result of the recent act. But a glance at the law itself will be sufficient to shew that the revenue must have been considerably increased from it†. The law touches especially the middle classes, those employed in offices, the clergy, and those engaged in industry and commerce. All writings are subjected to a stamp that are necessary to an engagement, understood, fulfilled, or cancelled; all writings which are to confer, to sustain, or to oppose a claim, as well as bills of exchange, letters of credit, or other negotiable documents. The scale established in this class of duty remains fixed after 24,000 liras of value; in which case the duty re-

† I have since received a confirmation of my statement. The following is the result of the new law in the first year of its working.

1841. — Stamps, Mortgages, and Taxes	4,300,000
Difference in excess of the preceding year (see the foregoing table).....	2,001,000

Lire

quired by the stamp is 60 liras. Even agreements for the day are embraced by this tax. Stamps are required on all accounts between commercial men, manufacturers, apothecaries, those exercising a trade, scholastic certificates, and certificates of admission to professions; applications for employment, for examination, for licence to exercise any branch of trade or commerce whatever; passports, and the certificates of workmen (*livrets*); appointments to place — these were formerly charged with a tax equal to one third of the salary for the first appointment, and an additional third for each successive increase*; foreign and domestic newspapers, even down to the almanacs, whose prime cost is often less than the value of the stamp. The rapacity which has presided over this law is so little disguised, that if an old document unstamped is presented to an authority, the party is obliged (by article 88) to attach to it a blank sheet of stamped paper, upon which must be written an extract of the object of the document. A stamp duty not paid is visited by a judicial execution or a distraint of goods. The law has been designedly drawn up with so much obscurity that all the offices have been obliged to apply to Government for instructions how to carry it into effect. The distinguishing characteristic of this law is,

* Similar taxes also press heavily on the collation to prebends and ecclesiastical benefices: they are in proportion to the annual value, and in some cases they absorb one year's entire income; in others the half of the income every year. The Austrian tendency to pillage betrays itself after a very shabby fashion in the taxes which accompany the titles or decorations spontaneously granted by the Emperor. The diploma of prince costs 36,000 Austrian liras, that of count, 18,000; that of baron, 9,000; that of chevalier, 4,500; a patent of nobility, 3,000; that of privy-councillor, 1,800, &c.

as may have been perceived, to press heavily and vexatiously on small property and petty commerce.

But more than this. Not only, as we have seen, is Austrian Italy *positively* burdened, but it is *comparatively* more so than are the other parts of the Empire.

It has been stated in a work of importance on Austria, well deserving translation into English*, that the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces are more indulgently treated than other portions of the Austrian monarchy. The generally well-informed author is, however, wanting on this point; for the contrary is the truth. Thus, the only two imposts that have been abolished by Austria since 1815, the tax on succession to an inheritance and the personal or capitation tax, were so —and of this the author seems to be ignorant—for the other portions of the empire, but not for Italy. The capitation tax (*Testatico*) is still in force against us; and the tax on succession, abolished in 1829 in all the Austrian provinces, has been retained in Dalmatia and the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom; where it is, not 30 kreutzers, as this author says, speaking of the past, but rather 2 florins 13 kreutzers. To avoid tedious details, I will now give, drawn from semi-official documents and books written in defence of the Austrian Government, a table of the annual amount that the Italian Provinces produce to the state, compared with other parts of the monarchy.

* Oestreich und dessen Zukunft.—By an Austrian Subject, 1842.

PROVINCES.	Population.	Contributions. (<i>Florins.</i>)	For each indi- vidual.
Austria (Lower)....	1,369,000	19,490,000	flor. 14 kr. 14
" (Upper)....	851,000	5,040,000	" 5 " 55
Hungary.....	11,973,000	16,990,000	" 1 " 25
Bohemia.....	4,133,000	16,050,000	" 3 " 53
Galicia	4,714,000	12,647,000	" 2 " 41
Moravia and Silesia	2,154 000	9,160,000	" 4 " 15
Styria.....	964,000	4,321,000	" 4 " 29
Carinthia & Carniola	755,000	3,981,000	" 5 " 16
Transylvania.....	2,056,000	3,867,000	" 1 " 52
Tyrol.....	836,000	3,242,000	" 3 " 52
Littorale.....	480,000	2,864,000	" 5 " 58
Military Frontiers..	1,192,000	2,639,000	" 3 " 13
Dalmatia	392,000	921,000	" 2 " 21
Total ———	31,869,000	101,212,000	Aver. 3 " 10
Lombardy	2,532,000	19,200,000	" 7 " 34
Venetian States....	2,148,000	15,040,000	" 7 " 00
* Total ———	4,680,000	34,240,000	Aver. 7 " 14

It results from this table :

1st, That the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom, though containing a population amounting to not quite an *eighth* of the Empire, pays more than a *fourth* of the total revenue ; and that comparing the average payed by each individual of the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom with the average payed by individuals belonging to the

* In comparing these figures with those of the preceding table, it must not be forgotten that this gives the *gross* revenue, while the former presents only the *net* revenue. Add to the total of the Fiscal, reduced to florins, the amount of the Communal taxes, (not included,) and that of the salaries to employés, which will be found below, and there remains a difference of a few millions of florins that the Government expends otherwise than in salaries.

other provinces collectively taken, we pay something more than double the other subjects of Austria.

2nd. That even taking the different provinces separately, Lower Austria is the only one that presents to the eye a larger contribution than that paid by us. But this excess is only apparent; for that province, being the seat of Government, the centre of every office, and the residence of the Imperial Court, in reality receives more from the state than it pays. The following table, which is only approximate, will better show this result.

PROVINCES.	Revenue. (fl.)	Number of Employés.	Salaries, (fl.)
Lower Austria	19,490,000	24,497	20,661,944
Lombardy	19,200,000	9,481	4,320,659
Venetian States	15,040,000	8,383	3,942,214

It will be seen, that the amount of salaries compared to that of revenue, gives for Lower Austria 105 florins 30 kr. of expenditure for every 100 florins of receipt; thus leaving a deficit of 5 fl. 30 kr. to be borne by the state at large. The same comparison applied to Lombardy gives 22 fl. 30 kr. of expenditure to every 100 of receipt, yielding the state an excess of 77 fl. 30 kr.; and applied to the Venetian Provinces, 26 fl. 12 kr. of expenditure, and 70 fl. 48 kr. of excess.

I say once more, the sun, the climate, the extraordinary fertility of the soil, the intelligent, active, and victorious genius of the Lombard people, struggle in our favour. Some reforms which the Revolution bestowed, and which the Restoration could not take

away, twenty-nine years of peace, and the natural progress of things, help the struggle in its slow success; but I say that wherever the hand of Government is seen, there also is to be found an obstacle and a hindrance. *The hand of the Austrian Government* is to be seen in the enormous import duty on colonial produce, on wines and spirits, upon skins either raw or dressed, on spun cotton, &c., which creates the contraband trade, and ruins Milan, the great emporium for the merchandise of the country, by ordering matters so that similar articles cost less in those provinces which border on the frontiers: the prohibition of foreign manufactures of silk, cotton, and wool, produce the same result, owing to the insufficiency of the supply manufactured by the State, the immoderate competition of the dealers, and the low prices asked for contraband goods brought in from without. Confined within narrow territorial limits, debarred entrance into the other Italian countries which are a market for foreign manufactures, wanting the direction of an Institute for industrial instruction, the Lombardo-Venetian manufacturers cannot satisfy the demand either with regard to quantity, variety, or beauty, nor produce goods on equal terms with other countries. *The hand of the Austrian Government* means a system of laws and custom-house regulations which impedes the free circulation of manufactures and colonial produce, even within the country, and inflicts a fine on the proprietor of a manufacture, every time a few kilogrammes are surprised in their transit from one town of the state to another, without a licence taken out from the place of starting; subjecting the merchants, in the frontier districts especially, to the liability of having both their warehouses and dwellings searched by day and

night, and often several times a week. *The hand of the Austrian Government* means a code of finance so involved and so obscure * that chance and caprice reign absolute sovereigns in the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces, imposing taxes upon arts and industry at random, to be extorted by violence ; to which for the commercial man is added the *Mercantile* tax, imposed by the *Camera di Commercio*: it means the increase of the expense of protesting bills of exchange, the *minimum* of which is in Austrian lires 8. 64, even for an amount below a hundred lires; by which means the Government fattens upon poverty, since the number of protested bills increases in proportion to the badness of trade. *The hand of the Austrian Government* means that unjustifiable act by which, in 1840, the Lombardo-Venetian public debt, known as the *Monte Lombardo-Veneto*, was increased by nearly twenty-five millions †, to obtain a heavy loan from the greatest usurer in Europe and some of his colleagues — an act which spread distrust among the holders of coupons in our Monte, and knocked down to 111 (and at first even to 106) a five per cent stock which was before selling at about 118. *The hand of the Austrian Government* means the enormous tax on postage, (40 centimes from Milan to

* So obscure in fact that the Aulic Council by whose agency the Code was issued, was obliged some seven or eight years ago to call in the assistance of a Royal Lombard Commission, to settle the best interpretation to be put on certain clauses.

† The debt known as the *Monte Lombardo-Veneto*, which devolved on Austria with our provinces in 1815, was the quota falling to us, on a proportional division with other Italian states, of the public debt of the Kingdom of Italy, known as the *Monte Napoleone*; which in its turn partly arose from the recognition and transmutation of the old provincial debts. There is now talk of a projected addition of fifteen millions more.

Piacenza, fourteen leagues distant from each other, 60 for Reggio and Modena, 80 for Bologna and Florence, &c.) thus restricting more and more the intercourse between Lombardy and Central Italy, already so circumscribed by custom-house regulations *: it means the entire absence of a Jury or Tribunal of Arbitration, to decide disputes conscientiously and with local knowledge, tedious process, and a faulty organization of the Commercial Tribunal, before which the pleadings can only be through an advocate, and where facts are always neglected for forms. What between the system which prohibits the introduction of raw material, and the restricted market, we are forced in Lombardy to export our raw produce and to receive in return manufactured goods at high prices. The careless traveller, passing rapidly through our populous towns, is astonished at the luxury displayed in them: he does not know that in winter the hospitals are filled with men who feign themselves ill, in order that they may receive there the means of sustenance they could not find elsewhere: he sees with admiration houses and palaces rise as by magic; but he does not know that those are no signs of prosperity, but only an investment forced upon capital, which cannot run the hazard of any enterprise of commerce, whilst trade is so hampered and stationary. What has the Austrian Government ever done to establish harmony and unity in the relations of commercial and industrial policy? It has adopted the decimal system in its relations with the governed; but at the same time permitting the governed themselves to make use of ancient systems

* For the convenience of a private letter-box, commercial men pay five centimes extra for every letter.

in their reciprocal dealings : so that a few leagues distance between town and town causes a difference in the circulation of money and makes a variation in the weights and measures. What has the Austrian Government done towards turning to practical use, by large hydraulic works for the benefit of agriculture, the copious streams which flow through Lombardy? What has it done towards making roads to communicate between place and place? Faithful to its rule of impeding progress as much as possible, except so far as to take the direction of every enterprise it cannot succeed in hindering, it has done its best to throw delays in the way of the numerous projected lines of railroad; but so soon as the Monza railroad was finished, it hastened to share the success by levying a percentage on the profits, through a new postal duty, and by claiming for its own benefit the whole undertaking as soon as the lease expires : it has done the same by the *velociferi*. Perhaps, Sir, you say undertakings like these ought not to be instigated by Government, but that they ought to be left to private enterprise. I have not much faith in the miracles of *laissez faire, laissez passer* ; but however that may be, recollect, Sir, that I am speaking of a country *despotically* governed, where the spirit of association is seen with an eye of suspicion ; I am speaking of a country where individual activity is checked and crushed in a thousand ways. When Government declares that the citizens of a country are to be kept in the perpetual tutelage of slaves, it implicitly undertakes to act for them and to direct their affairs.

In Venice, out of a population of little more than 100,000 persons, 52,000 are inscribed on the list of those who under one title or another claim charitable

aid : this single fact, acknowledged by Von Raumer, sums up marvellously well the advantages we derive from Austrian domination in a financial point of view.

Now let us examine whether the administration of justice is any better.

The device assumed by the House of Austria, "*Justitia Regnorum Fundamentum*," has often been quoted : it has practically the same value that the inviolability of private correspondence has with you, Sir James.

Much has been said of the impartiality which characterizes the administration of justice under the Austrian system : the Lombard people have long since answered this by a proverb known to them all—" *Hin semper i strasc che va alla folla* " (it is always the rags that are beaten small). The equality of all in the eye of the law as relates to justice, is and will always be a bitter irony wherever the remedies of the civil law are not accessible to the poor as easily as to the rich, — wherever the substance of the penal code is not imprinted by means of national instruction on *all* the members of the community. But it is not alone this—a vice common to all European communities—which I lay to the charge of the Austrian method of administering justice. What every man has a right to complain of is, the complexity and tardiness of its proceedings, which is an aggravation of this common vice ; the difficulty of learning the forms, which renders the assistance of an advocate indispensable in the most insignificant affairs ; the multiplicity of laws, the enormity of judicial expenses, the bad arrangement of the prisons, the defective organization of the magistracy. Eighty to ninety volumes form the Government collection of laws ; to

which must be added the codes civil and criminal, the code of those misdemeanours of which the Police takes cognizance, the code of custom-house dues and regulations : where is the one man who *can* comprehend them all ? Where is the man who can spur himself up to attempt it ? The general system of the Austrian Government consists in paying very few people to work, and in obtaining as much gratuitous labour as possible. In the distant and uncertain hope of a future gain, a fund has been established, from which half the number of those occupying judicial posts and at least two thirds of those employed in the executive and financial departments are paid. Unless this path be smoothed by relationship or connexion with those who have the disposal of offices, or for secret services of a base nature rendered to Government, a young man may think himself fortunate if after long and costly legal study, and eight or nine years of consecutive gratuitous labour, he succeeds in obtaining a situation which brings him in six or seven hundred florins a year at the outside. The number of persons employed is after all very few, compared to the amount of work required. There are infinite grades in these situations ; the persons holding them are almost every year removed from place to place : and although these continual changes form evidently part of the political system, they act not the less fatally on the administration of justice : they oppress the functionaries with useless expenses ; impede the course of business, and almost render it impracticable to obtain that thorough knowledge of the questions brought before them, by which alone they would be able to decide conscientiously. The high degrees of the judicial hierarchy— that is to say where they who preside in the

courts have to decide on questions wherein a perfect knowledge of the Italian and its dialects is indispensable— are filled by Germans who can hardly stammer the language.

From the causes I have indicated, and which I have been contented with simply asserting—since every one may verify for himself the fact of the extravagance of judicial charges, and the perplexed enactments of the codes and regulations—it inevitably follows, that the dispatch of business must be both costly and tedious. Those concerned in civil suits are often wearied out, and renounce their claim, resigning themselves to the first loss. But these defects have a more serious influence in criminal causes. On the third of September 1840, an individual was brought up from the prison of Como, who had been confined there for two years *without having being examined*. But not to dwell longer on special cases, the occurrence of which however rarely is sufficient to condemn the system, I assert that criminal causes *generally* last *for years*. Ill clothed, ill fed, the accused languish all the time in prisons which usually are unhealthy; and where, if they do not die of scurvy, they often come out imbecile, unable to work, or at least utterly unable to procure any : crowded, ten, fifteen, twenty together in the same prison, where the innocent perhaps, or those guilty of very slight crimes, are mingled with ruffians and assassins, they come out as from a school of infamy, utterly depraved. And I say, that when the system by virtue of which these men are placed there, relies on such a basis as *secrecy* in the proceedings, and the fate of the accused is placed in the hands of a Councillor invested at the same time with the functions of defender and judge, one can neither conceive nor understand

eulogiums bestowed on the administration of Austrian justice, unless they are dictated by bad faith or an unpardonable ignorance on a point in which millions of men are concerned.

Education, intellectual development, administration, justice, finances, all are corrupted, shackled, ill-organized, in the Austrian régime which governs the Lombardo-Venetian Provinces ; and the little progress that is made there, is made not *through* it, but *in spite* of it—by the strength inherent in us, by the struggle that overbears us.

It would signify but little were it otherwise. In tracing the foregoing pages I have paid tribute to the disease of the age. I have laid the cause at the door of those who have substituted one piece of mechanism in place of the heart, another for the head, exclaiming—" Behold, man ! the great problem of statesmanship consists in oiling the wheels, in order that the *circular motion* may go on. " But *that* is not the ground *I* take: it is not a *circular motion* that is in question, but a *progressive* motion, which can only be accomplished in liberty and love. It is not a few millions, a few taxes more or less, that can decide the character of a people's life. We are not, thank God, of a nature to content ourselves with *panem et circenses*, in whatever abundance.

It is the *Soul* of the Italian Nation, its thought, its mission, its conscience, which is at stake. It is *that* which they are endeavouring to destroy there ; it is *that* which lifts up its voice and appeals through its martyrs, its exiles, its apostles, from tyranny to God. Are you at that pitch of materialism as to be capable of appreciating nothing but what can be weighed in gold or valued in commodities ? There are over there

from four to five millions of human creatures, gifted—think of this, you who call yourselves religious—with an immortal soul, with powerful faculties, with energetic thoughts, with ardent and generous passions; with aspirations towards free agency, towards the *idéal* which their fathers had a glimpse of, which nature and tradition point out to them; towards a national union with other millions of brother souls, in order to attain it: from four to five millions of men, desiring to live, and advance, under the eye of God the only Master, towards the accomplishment of a social task which they have in common with sixteen or seventeen millions of other men speaking the same language, treading the same earth, cradled in their infancy with the same maternal songs, strengthened in their youth by the same sun, inspired by the same memories, the same sources of literary genius. Country, liberty, brotherhood, vocation, all is wrested from them: their faculties are mutilated, curbed, chained within a narrow circle traced for them by men who are strangers to their tendencies, to their wants, to their wishes: their tradition is broken under the cane of an Austrian corporal: their immortal soul feudatory to the stupid caprices of a man seated on a throne at Vienna, to the caprices of his Tyrolese agents; and you go on indifferent, coolly inquiring if these men be subject to this or that other *tariff*, if the bread that they eat cost them a halfpenny more or less! That *tariff*, whatever it be, is too high: it is not *they* who have had the ordering of it: that bread, dear or not, is moistened with tears, for it is the bread of slaves. Have you an arithmetical figure in your statistics which is the equivalent of slavery? Slavery, I say: not only national slavery—(which is death to us as a country; which in-

scribes a foreign name on the old flag of our fathers ; which, in vitiating the *implements* and the *workplace*, effaces the idea of the *work* to be done, and dissolves the brotherhood of millions: there are persons who understand nothing of all this, who deny all collective mission, and are ignorant that the national *idea* is the WORD of a people)—but *moral* slavery, that which enervates and corrupts, the yoke of the mind, the leprosy of the soul. What matters it to us that they allow us to open schools for our children, if it be to teach these ignoble phrases — “ *Subjects ought to conduct themselves as faithful slaves towards their masters. whose power extends over their goods as well as over their persons ?* ” What matters it to us, that two Universities are tolerated, if their Professors must send to Vienna their historical course, to have it interpolated with I know not what eulogy on the House of Austria ? And what matters to us some few economical developments, some progress in material well-being, whilst, in the absence of all social aim, all public life, all noble activity, this progress in material comforts, precious for a free people, would only serve to stir up egoism, to drown the aspirations of our Italian soul in a gross sensuality ? Better a hundred times were honest dull ignorance and poverty, than this phantom of science and prosperity in the service of a Lie.

Happily, if we go forwards, if some signs of progress manifest themselves amongst us, it is not, I repeat, *by them* ; it is *in spite of them*, and consequently *against them*.

They know this well ; and hence, from that mute but incessant contest arises another series of evil, intrigue, and persecution, which Lombardy endures in common with all the rest of Italy.

There are in Lombardy alone, 300 Police agents, 872 gendarmes, 1,233 Police guards, (total 2,405,) with a whole army of guardians, under-guardians, gaolers, *secondini*, guards of fortified places, &c. There are guards of the frontiers, of the communes, of the woods and forests, of the towns, all under the control of the Police. There are spies of the Viceroy, of the Governor, of the Director of Police, of the Commissaries, of the Delegates, of the District-Commissaries, of the Bishops, of the Provosts, acting independently of each other, but all joining the main root of the Supreme Police at Vienna. And all this mass, all this iniquitous mob, (I do not include the army, though that also is a tool of the Police,) has for its principal object the search after and suppression of national opinion. With this end, in a *political* regard, every thing it can do is right, every thing is permitted to it. Every outrage is allowed; the citizen has no longer even the shadow of protection. It is a warfare, a dishonest warfare, without pity, without shame, carried on in darkness, by agents who combine all the tricks of chicane with the cold-blooded cruelty of an Iroquois.

Have you ever read, Sir, two books from the pens of political sufferers at the Austrian Spielberg, *Silvio Pellico* and *Andryane*, — containing the account of their sufferings? written with so much moderation that one of them has been allowed to be printed and reprinted in Italy. If you have not, Sir, endeavour to find time, between the issuing of one warrant and another, to glance over them. Perhaps when you learn the vengeance that overtakes political offenders in Austrian Italy * — when you see, beside the hor-

* “The condemned shall be confined in a dungeon, secluded from all communication, with only so much light and space as is neces-

rors alluded to in the note, the torture of *hunger*, literally of *hunger*, inflicted upon them ; when you see Pietro Maroncelli losing his left leg in consequence of the weight and pressure of his fetters—losing it by amputation at the upper part of the thigh, because the Governor of Spielberg, having received his prisoner with two legs, was obliged to give him up in the same condition, and therefore could not allow the operation to take place until he had received a sanction from Vienna ; *perhaps*, I say, you will then have a glimmering perception of the terrible responsibility which is attached to the communication of intelligence obtained from the correspondence of any foreigner over whom you may play the spy on behalf of Austria.

And do you know, Sir, how people reach Spielberg from Lombardy ? Are you aware how slight a matter, when once the suspicions of Austria are excited, is sufficient to precipitate the victim thither ? Take the trials of 1820-21, they will tell you. They will tell you how Colonel Silvio Moretti was condemned to fifteen years of the *carcere duro*, upon what were

sary to sustain life ; he shall be constantly loaded with heavy fetters on the hands and feet ; he shall never, except during the hours of labour, be without a chain attached to a circle of iron round his body ; his diet shall be bread and water, a hot ration every second day ; but never any animal food—his bed to be composed of naked planks, and he shall be forbidden to see any one—without exception. ”—Such is the definition of the *carcere durissimo* in the Penal Code, § 14.

The hot ration (*cibo caldo*) consists of slices of bread steeped in hot water, and flavoured with tallow. It is a common thing for those condemned to the *carcere duro* to wear twenty-pounds weight of chains ; they are worked like galley-slaves, and have neither light nor paper nor books: never, except sometimes by an extraordinary favour on Sundays, (to attend mass,) leaving their cold and humid cells.

called *indicial* proofs, founded on false statements made against him by some of his fellow-accused, when, in consequence of a report of his suicide spread through the prisons by the Government, they believed him past danger; but retracted by them when they saw him alive before the Court. They will tell you of Lieutenant Giovanni Bachiega sentenced to fifteen years of the *carcere duro*, as convicted *not only of avowed hostile intentions towards the Imperial House of Austria, but as disposed to resist it arms in hand*: and this because he replied “*Certainly*” to the judge’s demand, “*Would you bear arms for Italy, if some day she should rise Nationally?*” They will tell you of Rezia, an Ex-Captain of Engineers, condemned to three years of the *carcere duro* in the castle of Laybach, because he gave an ambiguous reply to the judge’s question of “whether he would have denounced a Carbonaro if he had known him to be such”; and this was ruled to be an answer in the negative.

Do not fancy, Sir, that these are exceptional cases, which might have been produced from the terror excited in Austria by the insurrections of Naples and Piedmont: I could show many similar examples in the trials of 1831 and 1833.

But it is not in these iniquitous condemnations to Spielberg, these *coups d’éclat* of Austrian justice, that lies the wound which festers in Lombardy: it is possible, when nationality is a *belief*, not a *reaction*, to leave Spielberg, like my estimable friend Dr. Foresti, calm, unmoved, the same as the man of fifteen years before. It is the general system, at work round each individual—at work each day of the year, each hour of the day—endeavouring to crush under mistrust, suspi-

cion, and fear, the moral faculties of our youth, to which I would point : it is the brutal exhibition of physical force, from the levelled cannons on the Duomo at Milan, mute but eloquent symbols, down to the insolence of the police-guards who encumber the streets day and night—from the base and brutal manner in which the Austrian officers treat the young men of the University of Pavia on the least appearance of disorder, down to the liberty granted to custom-house officers to fire on smugglers in their flight : it is the arbitrary and frequent refusal of passports for foreign countries, and even for the interior, combined with the enormous penalties on those who dare to do without them ; the unlimited and irresponsible power of arrest given to the police ; the prohibition of inviting one's friends to a ball without previously giving notice to the police : it is the habitual violation of government amnesties, such as for instance caused De Luigi to be refused permission to exercise his profession of advocate, although the words of the decree in the faith of which he returned did not contain any such restriction ; such as threw in prison Lancetti, another amnestied emigrant, who, at the end of two years, ruined by his hard treatment, was set at liberty to die, invoking curses on his persecutors : it is the omnipotence granted to the superior agents of the police, going even to impiety, and producing, in what concerns political cases, such monstrous facts as that of the Count Bolza forcing a sacristan to give him a consecrated wafer, which he administered himself in 1833 to one Bianchi, who was in prison and dying, to do away with all excuse for admitting within the walls even a priest ; the violation — but that will not strike you, Sir James, as any thing very immoral — the violation

of private correspondence ; the *precetto* in the name of the police and without any interference on the part of the tribunals, forbidding hundreds of individuals from leaving the town for an indefinite time : and beyond all this, it is the system of *espionage*, organized on such a scale that in the city of Milan alone it costs the sum of near 200,000 Austrian lires a month, invading the peace of families, breaking the bonds of friendship, scattering the seeds of selfism and corruption, gaining its ends by calumny, going even the length of provoking crime when it can discover none to reveal—distributing revolutionary documents with one hand and signing a denunciation with the other.

In 1833, there was a man amongst our exiles who was proscribed by Austria for having belonged to our national association of *La Giovine Italia* : he had bravely fought and suffered in 1821 for the Italian cause. By this he had earned a title to our fraternal esteem ; he was besides bound by the ties of intimate friendship to many amongst us : but he was one of those passionate sensual natures, devoid of all religious faith, who combat from reaction and from pride rather than from a profound sense of duty—who are capable of exhibiting by starts every virtue except that of constancy. He was assailed by poverty ; he had recourse to us, and was assisted ; but the temporary aid which his friends, poor and exiled like himself, were able to afford, was not sufficient to cope with necessities perpetually recurring : without employment, without resources, he was reduced to despair. The Austrian Police kept a watchful eye on its victim, and at this crisis offered him through its agents a monthly salary, if he would consent to be the Judas of his brethren : he yielded : he believed he should be able

to satisfy his necessities by playing a low but in-offensive part ; and that he might earn his wages without compromising a living soul, and so cheat the Austrian Government. This was in 1842 ; and all his first vague depositions, which barely glanced on supposititious intrigues of some few exiles who could thereby incur no personal risk, accorded marvellously well with the mystification he proposed to himself. But the vortex of crime began to draw his soul within its circle, and proved stronger than he. Bitter reproaches, accompanied at the same time with seductive offers of as much money as he wanted, to induce him to accomplish his diabolical mission, came to him from the Director of the Lombard police, the Baron Torresani, and also from the Austrian Embassy at Paris, where he resided. He was in the power of fiends. Degraded in his own eyes, lost with his compatriots if the agents of Austria uttered the least whisper as to his conduct, he felt as if fascinated : he subscribed to all that was desired of him : he began to mingle falsehood with truth. Afterwards, when the troubles in the Papal States grew threatening, he plunged into crime with all the fury of intoxication : he became at once a denouncer and an instigator. He connected himself with some parties who had certain relations with the interior of Italy, but who suffered them to slumber for want of funds : he said to them—" I have money ; I will manage for you. " Other parties travelling in France were by him persuaded to take with them into Italy proscribed works : with one hand he furnished them with these, and with the other he signed their denunciation. They still languish in prison.

In 1844, the Austrian Government required that he should avail himself of an old personal acquaintance,

to become a close spy upon me. This the wretched man did not dare; partly from instinct, partly from the consciousness that I was acquainted with certain ill-conduct he had been guilty of in his own country, and had broken off all intercourse with him: he feared to meet my eye, and did not come near me. But he shut himself up in a garret in Paris, and did not leave it for some time; during which he fabricated his report of conversations held with me in London—confidences which I had communicated to him—insurrectional plans of which I was at the head; a tissue of absurdities, detailing an enormous amount of arms and money which had been furnished me by unknown Englishmen; promises from the existing government of England in case of an Italian movement, transmitted to me, as he declared, by the Private Secretary of Sir Robert Peel. This information was liberally paid for, and he thanked Baron Torresani for the same by letter. But if as regarded me he mystified the Austrian police, he did not the less pursue his diabolical machinations against others: he gave to certain Italians who were travelling in Europe letters of introduction to me, and then he wrote word that they were gone to hold personal communication with the director of the revolutionary movement. He was employed in his last moments in the fabrication of false passports, which he intended for exiles who desired to go and verify for themselves the actual state of things in Italy; victims whom he doomed to a perpetual prison or death. He died towards the end of last year: his name was *Attilio Partesotti*, of Mantua. I possess a copy of the whole of his correspondence. The unhappy being, for fear of contradicting himself, was obliged to keep an exact register of his

inventions, which he had not time to burn.

This is a specimen of Austrian espionage. These, Sir, are the proceedings to which you have lent the sanction of England, though, I would fain believe, without being aware of the bearing of your acts.

I have cited this fact, because the representations coming from *high sources* which brought you to your meanness, were not improbably founded on the lies uttered by this man ; but your fellow-countrymen will, I trust, see therein the characteristic of many other facts which I could easily quote, and the opinion that ought to be formed of a government which makes use of such crimes to maintain itself, and the state of the country which is subject to it.

But why bring detached facts to prove the iniquity of the Austrian government in Italy ? How can it be otherwise ? In Lombardy there are *Germany* and *Italy* ; that is to say, two races, having nothing in common—neither origin, nor language, nor manners, nor literature, nor belief, nor vocation ; that is a race of conquerors, of usurpers more properly speaking — for Austria has never conquered except by treaties and marriages—and a race of subjects ; that is, two distinct and hostile elements, which nothing, as is admitted on both sides, has been able to fuse together ; the antagonism of which is manifested in crises almost periodical ; the inarticulate ceaseless conflict of which racks with pain every joint and member of the nation, and renders of no avail, often dangerous, whatever progression the activity of the subject or the policy of the masters may bring about. What country is there in which this phenomenon can exist without condemning to crime the government that upholds it ? How can it maintain itself on this

unsteady soil, in the bosom of an unfriendly population, unless it be by scattering terror, by the display of brute force, by sowing division and mistrust through a system of espionage ? Yes ; the Austrian government is obliged to keep Partesottis in its pay to infuse treachery amongst friends wherever it can, and to take as truth the lies which these spies utter to gain their wages ; it is obliged to recommend the exiles who regain their homes to *amuse themselves* ; it is obliged to say by its censors to those young men who present themselves with a manuscript in their hand—" Why, you sons of wealthy families, do you wear out your brains in literary labour ? * " it is obliged to maintain in Lombardy at our expense an army of 80,000 Germans, whilst it sends our Italian conscripts to ruin their health for eight or nine years in Hungary, Bohemia, and Galicia ; it is obliged to deprive our soldiers of all advancement : it is reduced to do all that which in the preceding pages I have depicted to my readers : it stands as upon a field of slaughter, with wary eye, with ear to the wind, snuffing the battle. The great immorality (saving the first step — the unlawful possession of that which belongs to others) is not *now* upon the side of Austria. It is, I am bound to say it, on the side of Europe, which looks upon this crying injustice as a normal fact ; it is on the side of those who endeavour to avert the attention of the good of all countries by fallacious assertions as to the material prosperity which the victims of this injustice may enjoy ; on your side, Sir James, who broke the seal of my letters for its protection ; on the side of that Parliamentary majority,

* Cesare Balbo, a witness above suspicion, and my opponent in all things.

that — doubtless, for want of information on these points—sanctioned such a proceeding by its vote.

I have sketched a few traits of the *best* government existing in Italy. I shall now give, still more briefly, the characteristic traits of the *worst*, the States of the Pope. I could not analyze the seven Italian Governments that, like the seven heads of the Beast in the Apocalypse, blaspheme the mission of Italy, without enlarging to a volume. But I may state, that they all pendulate between the two of which I am writing, over a common ground, that of the political question.

Central despotism is the characteristic of the Austrian Government: organized anarchy, to the extent such a thing is possible, is the characteristic of the Papal. And this anarchy, an inevitable consequence of the constitutional nucleus of the government, cannot be modified by written laws or by essays of partial reform, come from what quarter they may.

The government is elective and despotic: it is vested in a man who is Pope and King at the same time, and who proclaims himself to be infallible. No rule is prescribed, none can be prescribed, to the Sovereign. His electors, all and alone eligible, believing themselves clothed with a divine character, divide among them the direction of affairs. The chief offices in the different departments of administration are all filled by priests. Very many of them are totally irresponsible, not merely in fact, but of right.

The Pope, generally a creature of the faction opposed to that which elected his predecessor, overturns the system in operation prior to his accession, and by a *Motu-proprio* substitutes his own. His electors, the Cardinals, each eligible after him and feeling them-

selves his equals, substitute their pleasure for his, every one in his sphere. The Bishops, also partaking in this divine character and in irresponsible authority, exercise a wide and almost entirely independent power. The same, too, with the chiefs of the Holy Inquisition. The ecclesiastics, holders of the principal offices, incompetent from past habits and studies to undertake their administration, discharge their duties by the aid of inferior employés ; who in turn, feeling their position uncertain, as dependent on a necessarily short-lived patronage, are guilty of every possible malversation, and aim solely at self-enrichment. Beneath all, the weary people, borne down by all, reacting against all, are initiated into a corruption the example of which is set by their superiors ; or avenge themselves as they may, by revolt or the poniard. Such, abridged, is the normal state of Papal Italy.

In such a system there is not, there cannot be, any place for general, social interests, but place for the interests of self alone. The priests who govern have nothing in common with the governed : they may have mistresses—they cannot have wives : their children, if they have any, are not legitimate, and have nothing to hope for but from intrigue and favouritism. The love of glory, the ambition of doing good—the last stimulant left to individuals when every other is wanting—exists not for them. The absence of all unity of system, the instability of all principle of government, as evidenced at Rome under each new Pope, and in the provinces under each new Legate, wholly destroys the possibility of such an impulse : how should men devote themselves to amendments that can be in force but a few years, that must pass away ere they can bear fruit? Besides, as I have before said, the ecclesiastics are

driven, by their want of political aptitude, to govern by Auditors, Assessors, or Secretaries : why should these last labour for good, when the glory would all go to their chiefs ? why should they not labour for evil, when the dishonour will fall there also ? Fear has no hold on the subalterns ; for, not acting in their own name, they have nothing to dread save from their patrons. Fear has no hold on the heads ; for as to some, their power and the part taken in the election of the reigning Pope, as to others, the Apostolic Constitutions or the traditions of the Church, establish an irresponsibility in fact or law. In the Papal States, *the Minister of Finance (Treasurer-General) has no account to render : he may rob the Government with impunity ; and he can be removed from his office only by promotion to the Cardinalate.* From this single fact judge of the rest. Consequent on this irresponsibility, in combination with the absence of distinctive limitations to official authority, no irregularity is too extravagant for the Popedom. The Cardinal-Datario claims the right of setting aside the ordinances of the Pope, whenever it seems good to him. A law of Benedict the Fourteenth, confirmed by Pius the Seventh and Leo the Twelfth, ordains that every farming of duties and every contract relating to the exchequer should be effected by public competition ; and that after the first auction, a certain time should elapse, to see if any party will advance on the highest bidding : and yet the Secretary of State and the Treasurer constantly violate this prudent regulation, and, for a sum in hand, without the slightest formality, assign such contracts to whomsoever they please. Cardinal Albani published at Bologna, on the 1st February, certain ordinances of Gregory the Sixteenth, of the 8th October 1831, to

the effect that for the future no man should be taken out of the hands of his native judges ; and twenty days later, he created a Provost's court, that treated as crimes acts not before obnoxious to the law. The Cardinal-Treasurer and the Cardinal-Camerlengo promulgated at the same time (1828) two opposing regulations relating to the posts. The functions of the provincial heads are laid down by law ; but the Pope reserves to himself the gift of a letter or Brief of Instruction, by which he extends their power to what limit he pleases, and often invests them with the exercise of a portion of legal jurisdiction in civil matters : they may abuse these powers according to caprice, for, whatever they may do, *they cannot be recalled till the expiration of three years*. But why cite facts which may be increased to infinity ? Who is there to whom the enormities of the Papal Government are unknown ? Is not their best proof that general agitation which for the last twenty years has been ever spreading in those provinces ? Were they not recognized by the five Courts themselves in the Memorandum they presented to the Pope on the 21st May 1831 ? And can I not—here in England, at least—appeal to the declarations of Sir Hamilton Seymour, in his official correspondence in 1832 with the Austrian Ambassador at Rome ?

Under this anarchy of fleeting and ephemeral powers, all in arbitrary action, all in conflict, all moved by individual passions—in this den of abuse, of patronage, of venality, and of corruption, its inevitable consequence—the sources of material prosperity are one by one withering. The uncertainty of the law, the confused state of the regulations respecting mortgages, the “repudiation” often granted to debtors by the

Pope unknown to creditors, the tediousness of legal process, the delays arbitrarily accorded to influential debtors, the privileges belonging to the *Tribunale della Fabbrica di San Pietro*, charged to search in wills and other deeds, ancient and modern, for the existence of pious legacies unfulfilled—all these tend to the depreciation of property. From the same causes, and from the frequent variation of the always extravagantly high scale of duties, commerce is swallowed up between the monopolist and the smuggler. Industry is shackled by exclusive privileges, by restrictions, by a vexatious excise, and above all, by intrigue, which is favoured by the officials, who are linked to Rome as against every provincial manufacture that may likewise be carried on in the metropolis. The enormous weight of taxation, bearing not merely indirectly, but, under the name of *Focatico* and the contribution for military purposes, also directly on the peasant, hinders all progress in agriculture. The Treasury, when not plundered by the irresponsible Treasurer, is exhausted in pensions scandalously lavished on idle Prelates—on inferior protégés, whom it has been necessary to deprive of their employments, but whom it is hazardous to bring to justice or ignominiously dismiss—on women of ill life, courtezans to the Cardinals—or on such as have rendered secret services to the Government or any one of its members.* It maintains a large part of the Congregation of the Propaganda; it foment political plots, in Spain, in Portugal, and elsewhere; it every where keeps alive, by secret agents, Jesuits or others, the as-

* Large pensions have often been granted to the brigand chiefs of the Campagna, who covenanted with the Government for a life-income, proportionate to the profit they drew from their murderous calling.

sailant spirit of Papistry ; it feeds the luxury of the most demoralized court in Europe, in the midst of a famishing population. Before 1831, the public debt was nearly 600,000,000 Italian *lire*, but is now much augmented. In 1831-2 — such was the exhausted state of the Treasury—a foreign loan was negotiated, one was imposed on the cities of the Légations, the funds of the charitable institutions of Bologna were seized on, and the land-tax was increased a third. Other loans were effected in succeeding years. No variety of expedient has been left untried ; and yet the financial position of the government becomes daily more critical.

And now, Sir, shall I speak to you of the intellectual status to which the institutions and habits of the Court of Rome condemn the mass of the population ? No ; all that must be known even here. Numbers of your countrymen traverse those provinces of Italy governed by the Pope : how many peasants do they meet with that can read and write ? Sure I am they will count them by units. Many of your philosophers attend those congresses of science—feeble but symptomatic efforts of our *savans*—that have for some years assembled in Lombardy, Tuscany, or elsewhere : did they ever meet there a single Professor from the Papal States ? The simple fact of this interdiction and a cursory survey of the Index suffice to measure the position there accorded to intellect.

And all this—the mass of material and moral pestilence afflicting this wretched population—is based on what ? On a PHANTOM no longer believed in, that has ceased to have faith in itself. Conceive the state of a creed-distrusting people, curbed, domineered, overburdened, by an army of priests manifesting faith only

in force, who surround themselves with Swiss and Austrian bayonets, or, in the name of Christ, muster brigands from the galleys ! Religion—I speak of Papal Catholicism—is, in the Roman States more than elsewhere, lifeless: lifeless in the educated classes as a consequence of the enlightened age ; lifeless in the people as wanting a symbol—as wanting a something representative. Who in that country is ignorant that the nomination of Christ's Vicar depends on Ambassadorial intrigue, and that the direct or indirect *Veto* of Austria, of France, or some other Power, throws into Conclavial nonentity the so termed chosen of the Holy Spirit ? Who is ignorant that long since the *King* strangled the *Pope* ; that diplomacy masters theology ; that the Notes of foreign Plenipotentiaries have inspired Briefs to the clergy of Poland, to the Bishops of Ireland ? Which *Motu-proprio* of a Pope but insults the *infallibility* of his predecessor ? Who at Rome but can point out the mistresses of the Cardinals ? or who in the provinces but can point to the agents of the Prelate-Governors, shamelessly trafficking in all that can bring money to themselves or their masters ? How, dizzyed in this whirlpool of scandal, of hypocrisy, of dilapidation, can man preserve his faith intact ? By a deplorable but too natural reaction, negation, materialism, doubt, day by day ingulf fresh souls. Nought of religion survives but forms, outward shows, and observances compelled by law. It is compulsory that men should communicate at Easter : it is compulsory that the youth of the schools and universities should be present at mass each day, and communicate once a month ; it is compulsory that public officers should take part in ceremonies termed religious. Such is religion in the

Roman states. The junction of temporal interests with the duties of the *central* power of the Church has stifled religion : it will revive only by their disjunction—in other words, only by a political revolution, that shall pluck the Roman provinces from the Pope to give them to Italy.

In 1831, an insurrection, internally victorious, was quieted by Austrian intervention ; but the insurgents remained in possession of their arms, their position and places of strength. A capitulation was signed at Ancona on the 26th March, between the members of the Provisional Government on one side and Cardinal Benvenuti on the other, covenanting a full and entire amnesty for all those implicated in the rising. The Cardinal was Legate *a latere* ; that is to say, clothed with every power—an *alter ego*—in the language of Rome, *Deo et non nobis rationem redditurus*. The 26th might have furnished a pretext for parties who would have been glad to look upon him as at that date still in the power of the insurgents : on the 27th, free, and invested with supreme authority, he spontaneously ratified the capitulation. Ninety-nine of the most compromised of the insurgents, with the connivance of Benvenuti himself, who for the purpose persuaded the captain to break a contract, embarked on board the *Isotta*, under the Papal flag, furnished with regular passports, signed by the *Pontifical* authorities and by the Consul of France. The rest remained, on the faith of the capitulation. On the part of the insurgents, every article was observed ; they surrendered their arms, the fortified places were given up, the insurrectionary flag pulled down. On the 5th April, when the country was entirely at the Papal mercy, the Pope declared the capitulation null as far as regarded

himself. Ordinances of the 14th and 20th April organized a bitter prosecution against those who had been, however slightly, accomplices, favourers, or approvers of the insurrection. The ninety-nine passengers of the *Isotta* were stopped on the high sea, by the Austrian Admiral Bandiera—(whose two sons expiated their father's wrong against the Italian cause, by pouring out their blood in martyrdom, on the 25th July, 1844, at Cosenza)—taken back to Ancona, and from thence to Venice, to the prisons of Austria, against whom they had committed no attack ; from which they were released after two months ill-treatment, by the intervention of France. After facts so revolting to good faith and morality, how can men believe in the religion of the court of Rome ?

Misgovernment and foreign despotism in Lombardy—misgovernment and the worship of an Imposture in the Papedom—you have only, Sir, to apply these three things to entire Italy, and you will have got the truth. The Pope is the cross, the pommel of a sword, of which Austria is the point ; and this sword hangs over all Italy. The Pope clutches the soul of the Italian nation ; Austria the body—whenever it shows signs of life : and on every member of that body is enthroned a petty absolute prince, viceroy in turn under either of these powers. Three despotisms in place of one !—without any of the advantages that sometimes accompany despotism, when national, and when operating on a grand scale.

In the Duchy of Tuscany—the only Italian state in which the corruption of a mild despotism has been preferred to the system of terror elsewhere dominant—one of our first authors, Nicolini, published his tragedy of *Arnaldo da Brescia* : for two days it had a

free sale ; on the third the whole impression was seized, at the instance of the court of Rome. In the same Duchy, a native restored the house formerly inhabited by Alfieri, and added an inscription, lauding the great poet for his love of Italy : the Tuscan censorship found in it nothing objectionable ; but the Austrian Ambassador demanded its obliteration, and the Government obeyed. These two facts, almost insignificant in themselves, furnish a practical commentary on the preceding paragraph.

It is time that I should return to the general question. I shall put it as simply as possible, and in general terms, common to the whole of Italy—from the Alps to the sea, from the Lombardo-Venetian Kingdom to Sicily.

We are a people of from one-and-twenty to two-and-twenty millions of men, known from time immemorial by the same name, as the people of Italy ; enclosed by natural limits the clearest ever marked out by the Deity—the sea and the highest mountains in Europe ; speaking the same language, modified by dialects varying from each other less than do the Scotch and the English ; having the same creeds, the same manners, the same habits, with modifications not greater than those which in France, the most homogeneous country on the earth, distinguish the Basque race from the Breton ; proud of the noblest tradition in politics, science, and art, that adorns European history ; having twice given to Humanity a tie, a watchword of Unity—once, in the Rome of the Emperors, again, ere they had betrayed their mission, in the Rome of the Popes ; gifted with active, ready, and brilliant faculties, is not denied even by our calumniators ; rich in every source of material well-being that, fraternally and liberally

worked, could make ourselves happy, and open to sister nations the brightest prospect in the world.

We have no flag, no political name, no rank among European nations. We have no common centre, no common pact, no common market. We are dismembered into eight states—Lombardy, Parma, Tuscany, Modena, Lucca, the Papedom, Piedmont, the Kingdom of Naples—all independent one of another, without alliance, without unity of aim, without organized connexion between them. Eight lines of custom-houses, without counting the impediments appertaining to the internal administration of each state, sever our material interests, oppose our advancement, and forbid us large manufactures, large commercial activity, and all those encouragements to our capabilities that a centre of impulse would afford. Prohibitions or enormous duties check the import and export of articles of the first necessity in each state of Italy. Territorial and industrial products abound in one province that are deficient in another; and we may not freely sell the superfluities or exchange among ourselves the necessities. Eight different systems of currency, of weights and measures, of civil, commercial, and penal legislation, of administrative organization, and of police restriction, divide us, and render us as much as possible strangers to each other. And *all* these states among which we are partitioned are ruled by *despotic* governments, in whose working the country has no agency whatever. These exists not in any of these states, either liberty of the press, or of united action, or of speech, or of collective petition, or of the introduction of foreign books, or of education, or of anything. One of these states, comprising nearly a fourth of the Italian population, belongs to the foreigner—to Austria;

the others, some from family ties, some from a conscious feebleness, tamely submit to her influence.

From this contrast between the actual condition and the aspirations of the country was produced the National party; to which, Sir, I have the honour to belong.

The National party dates a long time back in Italy. It dates from Rome—from that law of the Empire that admitted every Italian to the rights of citizenship in the capital of the known world. The work of assimilation which then instinctively began, was interrupted or rather complicated by a new task, by the invasion of the Northern hordes. It was necessary to assimilate to ourselves by degrees these foreign elements, before resuming the work of internal homogenization. Two or three centuries sufficed for this business of preparation; and when our Communes were established, the work was resumed. The national tendencies, hitherto pursued unconsciously, took a condensed form and existence in the conception of our great men of thought or action. From the Consul Crescenzo to Julius the Second, or to our agitators of the sixteenth century—from Dante to Machiavel—you will not find one, Sir, who did not adore the oneness of this nation, this ITALY that we adore, and for which the sons of an Austrian admiral died last year. Then, thanks to Charles the Fifth and Clement the Seventh, thanks to the Pope and the Empire, slavery fell upon us—a *common* slavery, that crumbled all our old hostilities and bent our restive heads under one yoke. When, after nearly three centuries of this common infliction, the French Revolution burst on Europe, the National party in Italy was found quite formed, and ready to appear on the political arena. As if to af-

ford a practical proof that we were ripe for union, Napoleon ran a line across Italy, placed Ancona and Venice, Bologna and Milan, under the same government, and founded the Kingdom of Italy. The essay succeeded. The intellectual rise, the rapid increase of material prosperity, the burst of fraternization, that were manifested in all those very provinces that shortsighted politicians, on the faith of a few popular phrases and petty jealousies, would a few days before have declared ready to cut each other's throats, are facts, especially in the period from 1805 to 1813, irrevocably committed to history. Notwithstanding our dependence on the French Empire, under political despotism and despite war, the feeling of nationality, specially incorporated in our brave army, elevated our souls, picturing in the distance the oneness of Italy, the object of all our efforts. The strength of the National party was so entirely recognized, that when the time came for the fall of Napoleon, it was in the name of this party that the European governments sought to arouse us against the domination of France. As far back as 1809, Austria spoke to us by his Imperial Highness the Archduke John, of glory, of liberty, of independence, and of a Constitution based on the *immutable nature of things* *. Four years later, General Nugent promised us *an independent Kingdom of Italy* †. And in the following year, your England, Sir, proclaimed by the mouth of Bentinck *the liberty and independence of the Italian people* ‡ : you inscribed these words (*Libertà e Indipendenza Italiana*) on the

* *Invito dell' Arciduca Giovanni al Popolo d' Italia*. 1809.

† Proclamation of the 10th December 1813.

‡ *Manifesto* of the 14th March, as above.

standards of the Legion, itself also called *Italica*, that was organized in Sicily to be employed in Tuscany : you everywhere disseminated by the officers of this Legion copies of the Sicilian Constitution —of that Constitution, by the by, which was given to Sicily when that island *was important as a military position* *, and was disgracefully abandoned, your purpose once answered, in spite of promises *in which the honour of the country was involved* †.

Napoleon fallen, all these promises were forgotten and broken. The meaning they conveyed was more permanent, and was confirmed, even diplomatically, by the National party. The hopes of the army and the National Guard were evidenced in addresses. A deputation of commerce had an interview at Genoa with Lord William Bentinck. Active efforts were made about Prince Metternich and the Emperor of Austria. Interviews took place at Paris between the deputies of the Kingdom of Italy and the English Plenipotentiaries, the Earl of Aberdeen and Lord Castlereagh ‡. We then had faith in diplomacy, and specially in England. All was unavailing. *Your country*, said the Emperor Francis to the Italian deputies, *is mine by right of conquest*. And three months after Lord Castlereagh's assurances that the Austrian Government would be *altogether paternal*, Italian officers and civilians of every rank, in considerable numbers, and under pretext of

* Lord Castlereagh (Marquis of Londonderry) in the House of Commons, 21st June 1821.

† Lord William Bentinck — same debate. See also the noble and generous sentiments uttered on that occasion by Sir James Mackintosh.

‡ I print, appended to this pamphlet, a report of one of these conferences—a valuable document, hitherto unpublished.

a conspiracy against the Austrians — at a time when they had not been declared *masters* by the Congress — were arrested at Milan and elsewhere, and thrown into military prisons, where all communication and every means of defence were withheld. These arrests took place at Milan almost regularly every Saturday night from November 1814 to the end of January 1815. After several months of secret investigation, the prisoners were refused the choice of advocates, and their counsel were nominated by the Austrians. Tried in the citadel of Mantua by a sort of half civil, half military, but wholly inquisitorial court, some were sentenced to three years' imprisonment, others condemned for life to the fortresses of Hungary. In Piedmont, in the States of the Pope, in Sicily, throughout Italy, one stroke of the pen erased all our liberties, all our reforms, all our hopes. The old régime reappeared, pernicious as before but surcharged with vengeance.

From the frauds of the Congress of Vienna sprang the insurrections of 1820, 1821, and 1831.

The insurrection of 1820 (July) took place in the Kingdom of Naples, embracing the whole of it. The absolute government was everywhere overturned, without resistance, without bloodshed. The King yielded to the desire of the people and the army, and proclaimed on the 6th—for this was all done in six days—constitutional forms, demanded, as expressed in his edict, by *the general will*.

The insurrection of 1821 (March) had Piedmont and Liguria for its theatre. Almost the entire nobility took part in this movement, the initiative being with the army. The National party had even gained over the Prince of Carignano, heir to the Crown. It matters little that this Prince, unequal to his task,

betrayed his party from fear, and now reigns an absolute sovereign in Piedmont: his accession to the combination does not the less prove how high the National party had pushed their proselytism. This movement, commenced on the 10th, was complete on the 13th, a bloodless victory. The King, Victor Emanuel, bound by oaths to Austria, abdicated, appointing a Regent; who, on the 14th, took the oath to the constitutional system proclaimed.

The insurrection of 1831 (February) comprised in its action the Duchy of Parma, the Duchy of Modena, and the States of the Pope. It travelled from one city to another as it were by mail: the news of a rising effected in one locality was sufficient to determine that next on the line. It had a double difficulty to surmount — the Pope being an authority both spiritual and temporal. However, the insurrection triumphed without obstacle, without the least disorder. The Pope beheld his temporal power abolished by decree; and never thought, so thoroughly conscious was he of its impotence, of bringing into play his spiritual authority.

But, since this protest of the National party embraced successively all Italy not Austrian, how was it stifled? How, triumphant in almost every Italian state one by one, were these insurrections put down?

By Austria — by the immediate and unexpected intervention of Austrian armies.

I share with many of my countrymen the opinion, that by acting in a certain course and in a certain mode, an Italian insurrection might successfully brave Austrian intervention. I think that serious faults of management were committed by our leaders; and that no one of them hitherto has been equal to those ele-

ments of action that we possess. But this opinion, right or wrong, has nothing to do with my present argument, My *present* argument, which you, Sir, cannot refute, based as it is on unassailable historical facts, is simply this — *That the National party in Italy comprehends the immense majority of my fellow-citizens ; that it has been, and would be now more than ever, master at home, were it not for the immediate armed intervention of a Foreign Power.*

Sir, ours is *the only country in Europe* that is deprived, thanks to the Diplomacy you personally so well represent, of the right of managing its own business in its own way ; *the only country in Europe* that cannot ask for a common life, a common bond, or even a mere partial amelioration of its laws, without a *foreign army* pouring into it, and contesting by brutal force its right to progression ; *the only country in Europe* in which an admitted unanimity of opinion does not constitute acknowledged right.

Sir, I say that in this there is great injustice — a great crime chargeable on European society ; and that it is the duty of every Italian to protest by word and deed, through life and through death, against this great injustice.

So I have done ; so I shall do. You may open my correspondence, or calumniate my life ; you may disgrace the land that grants me hospitality by reviving the *Alien-Bill* : but I doubt strongly, Sir, whether you will ever make me deviate one breadth from the course which my duties as a man and an Italian long since marked out, whose consciousness accompanies me wherever I go, and which will be in no wise affected by the degree of latitude and longitude under which I may find myself.

There are men who love us and confess the injustice of our present condition, but believe not in the possibility of immediate remedy, that say to us— “ Waste not your strength in vain efforts : outflank the difficulty that you cannot surmount. Try legal methods. Prepare your ground before you pretend to build on it. You have abundance of prejudices, of superstitions, and of ignorance, to be knocked down in another fashion than by cannon-balls; bring yourselves to combat some time longer through the means of ideas : you will be the stronger for the march when, dictated by the circumstances of Europe, your country’s time shall come. Better your condition by degrees ; progress morally and intellectually, since politically you cannot. It will be long yet ere you will have liberty ; but peace is in your power — peace the best of a people’s benefits. In now obstinately persisting in a system of revolt and physical force, you sacrifice the worthiest among you, and you degrade your cause in seeking to attain a noble end by means that are incontestably beneath it. ”

I have not understated, I hope, these objections ; and I entreat my readers to well weigh the reply.

In all this, one especial and great error is predominant ; for it supposes that every disturbance or outbreak that shows a head in Italy, is the result of an organized effort, of a fixed plan, unflinchingly carried out by concealed and secret means, and under the direction of certain individuals acknowledged as chiefs. Unquestionably, Sir, it is very natural that you, for your own purposes and those of the foreign absolute governments you love so much, should desire to gain credit for this error : but it would be strange if, with the practical common sense that distinguishes your

countrymen, they should long suffer it to mislead them. There is no *centre* in Italy — would to God there were one — for aught that agitates, conspires, or is insurrectionary. General discontent there is: and from this discontent, met by our governments with violent reaction whenever their suspicions are attracted to its extent, naturally arise those manifestations that from time to time arrest the attention of Europe. Without doubt, associations do exist in the bosom of the country; but the vastest and most dangerous association is that—without union, without organization, without oaths—of all men of soul, conscious of the evil, and earnestly desiring to see its end. These men know each other, divine each other, in every city, in every province: they fall into communication when some event, abroad or at home, cheers their hopes; then, terror and espionage magnify these communications to the eyes of their masters; arrests are rife — extraordinary measures of safety are put in force; till the hot-headed and those most in danger spring into the arena, sometimes to set action an example, sometimes in an energetic endeavour to find safety. Without doubt, certain men exercise an influence in the ranks of the National party; but rather a moral influence than a substantive power — an influence imprinting a tendency and giving a colour to manifestations that it neither organized nor suggested. Since 1832, this has principally been the part of *La Giovine Italia*. Young Italy is a standard. By oral instruction and the press it has enunciated and diffused principles, that have sunk into the heart of men of action. It has done what I am in part doing at this moment — pleaded the cause of the Italian Nation, and sought, with some degree of success, to

unify its tendencies. So that its seal has been impressed as it were on many events that have occurred in Italy, though the events themselves, I reassert, arose spontaneously, unforeseen, and almost instantly, from the state of things, from the measures of Government, from feelings natural to a people oppressed, with no chance of alleviation for their sufferings save by the path of insurrection.

You may preach then as much as you like to those individuals on whom you have fixed the appellation of chiefs, but you will put no stop to Italian agitation. Never — not even with the concurrence of those chiefs if you could obtain it — will you succeed in re-establishing in Italy what you are pleased to call *peace*, as long as things remain as they are.

In a preceding page I referred to the three insurrections of 1820, 1821, and 1831. Those are the three most striking facts of the struggle. But, I ask, has it for an instant ceased between and since these dates? Has there been, I may inquire, a single year since 1820 that has not furnished us its contingent of resistance, of conspiracy, of outbreak, of terror, and of victims? In 1825, four years after the prosecutions of 1821 appeared to have annihilated the party, the condition of Romagna drew down the proscriptions of Cardinal Rivarola. In 1827, political prosecutions recommenced at Naples and in Calabria. In 1828, the insurrection organized in the province of Salerno by the Canon De-Luca was whelmed in blood: three patriots were executed at Naples, eleven at Salerno, twenty at Bosco; fifty-two were condemned to the galleys for life, and a crowd of others to minor punishments. In 1833, only two years after the insurrection of 1831, Italy seemed trembling on a volcano

from one extremity to the other. Three different plots were discovered at Naples ; the Cavaliere Ricci, of the Duke's body-guard, perished on the scaffold at Modena ; thirteen individuals were shot at Palermo ; thirteen, officers and others, in the Sardinian States ; condemnations to Spielberg took place at Milan ; a number of citizens in various parts, even in Tuscany, underwent a long imprisonment, or were driven to seek safety in flight. Twenty-nine death-sentences at Modena, eight at Penne in the Abruzzi, eight at Catania, twelve in different parts of Sicily, mark the year 1837. I am here, of course, speaking of political sentences only. Prices were set on a hundred and fifty heads in Sicily in that year, but for crimes committed on occasion of the cholera. Three years scarcely pass, ere, in 1841, the city of Aquila witnessed five condemnations to the *ergastolo*, forty-one to irons for twenty-five or thirty years, and nine to death. The guerilla of the brothers Muratori appeared in the Bolognese district in 1843. It will be unnecessary, I expect, Sir, to recall to your memory Bologna and Cosenza in 1844.

Such is the *peace* of Italy. And observe, Sir, I speak solely of those years when a commencement of active operations, or the dread of an imminent activity, impelled our governments to sanguinary reaction : if I were speaking of imprisonment and exile, I should have to count not by years but by months.

Can men be in earnest, then, in the face of these dates, when they persist in talking of *faction*, of *Committees*, of a few persons residing in London, in Paris, or elsewhere, as an explanation for such a state of things ? Is there a single impartial Englishman who cannot see in this agitation, in this feverish disturbance

exhibited year by year at twenty different points, an incontrovertible proof that there exists in Italy a great Injustice to destroy, that the Italians know it, and that *peace* is no longer possible between those who maintain that Injustice and those who abjure it?

I mentioned above the persecutions carried on in Romagna, in 1825, by Cardinal Rivarola. I would I could reprint the sentence that concluded them, for the benefit of all persons who may still be disposed, Sir, to put their faith in your statements *. It was issued on the 31st of August, against *five hundred and eight* persons; and these 508 individuals,—nobles, land-owners, military men, and commercial men—belonged almost all to four cities, Ravenna, Cesena, Faenza and Forlì. Moreover, this is not the only Italian *mönster-trial*: the Rubiera trials, (Duchy of Modena, 1822,) collected and published by Signore A. Panizzi, of the British Museum, literally did not leave a single family in Modena untouched. And now take a fact of a different order. In 1831, at Parma, the state being in the hands of the insurgents, a Major Rota made an effort at counter-revolution. In the midst of the tumult, and in presence of some thousands of spectators, a Doctor Fochi rushed on the Major with a poniard: he was with some difficulty held back, and the life of the officer was saved. After the insurgents were put down, Fochi was arrested and put on his trial: but not a single witness could be brought to support the charge, and they were compelled to acquit him. In juxtaposition with those lists so eloquent in figures — in juxtaposition with the sentences of 1821,

* Published at Ravenna, by A. Roveri and son, 1825, (with privilege).

affecting the most aristocratic families in Lombardy and Piedmont — place facts like the one I have just related, facts which I could multiply to any extent, and then talk, if you can, of Committees and a petty fraction of agitators.

Those persons, therefore, who tell us, individuals exiled for the cause of our country, to think of the benefits of peace and to abstain from all participation in the struggle, advise us, unwittingly, to withhold assistance from a combat which no human power can now prevent : they advise us to leave our young men to their headstrong and fervid impulses, in place of seeking to systematize their efforts ; they advise us to give *carte blanche* to our governments, and to permit victims annually to be told off, in place of seeing whether there be not some way of putting a finish, by a vigorous union of all our strength, to this frightful state of things ; they advise us to look coolly on at the convulsions of those we love dearest, and to hold at the sufferer's bedside a Parliamentary conversation on the advantages of a normal state of health and the ill consequences of fever.

Yet, if another path could lead towards the goal—if efforts conceived in a pacific spirit could advance our country towards the conquest of its nationality — the existence of that path, how narrow soever, how painful soever the progress, might make it a duty in the individual to bury within him that sentiment of consolidation that now impels us to the arena on which our brothers are doing battle, and to talk of the subject with calmness and resignation. But where is this path to be found ? I ask in vain an answer to this question. I cannot bring myself to imagine that you expect a man to walk who is tied hand and foot, with-

out first severing the cords that bind him.

When you Englishmen have a reasonable object to attain, you have the great highway of public opinion open to your steps : why should you digress into the by-lanes of conspiracy or into the dangerous morass of insurrection ? You put your trust in the all-powerfulness of Truth, and you do well : but you can propagate this truth by the press — you can preach it morning and evening in your journals, — you can insist upon it in lectures — you can popularize it in meetings ; in a little while, it stands menacingly on the hustings, whence you send it to your Parliament, seated in the majority. We Italians have neither Parliament, nor hustings, nor liberty of the press, nor liberty of speech, nor possibility of lawful public assemblage, nor a single means of expressing the opinion stirring within us.

Italy is a vast prison, guarded by a certain number of gaolers and gendarmes, supported in case of need by the bayonets of men whom we don't understand and who don't understand us. If we speak, they thrust a gag on our mouths ; if we make a show of action, they platoon us. A petition, signed *collectively*, constitutes a crime against the State. Nothing is left us but the endeavour to agree in secret to wrench the bars from the doors and windows of our prison — to knock down gates and gaolers, that we may breathe the fresh life-giving air of liberty, the air of God. Then, a career by pacific means of progress will be open to us ; then will begin our guilt and condemnation if we cannot bring ourselves to be content with it.

I am no partisan of that Jesuitical maxim, *the end justifies the means* ; but I must confess, it seems to me equally absurd, equally unjust, to exalt into an axiom the opinion

that on all occasions and at all times censures the application of physical force. It appears to me more rational to say—Whenever a way remains open to you in a just cause for the employment of moral force, never have recourse to violence ; but when every moral force is seared up — when tyranny stretches so far as formally to deny you the right of expressing in any manner soever what you conceive to be the truth,—when ideas are put down by bayonets, — then, reckon with yourself: if, though convinced justice is on your side, you are still in a weak minority, fold your arms and bear witness to your faith in prison or on the scaffold —you have no right to imbrue your country in a hopeless civil war: but if you form the majority, if your feeling prove to be the feeling of millions, rouse yourselves, and beat down the oppression by force. Cowardly to bow the head before brutal violence upholding injustice, when the arms that God has given you suffice for its overthrow, is to degrade yourself to the passive condition of the animal — to betray the sacred cause of Truth and of God — to enthrone tyranny for ever, under the pretext of abhorring physical force. It is not the country that honours the memory of Hampden, of Pym, of Vane, and of other great republicans, that can successfully adduce against us a theory of Oriental submission.

When you tell us, Sir, that our publications incite to insurrection, I reply — Yes ; that may be true : but at home we have neither liberty of press or liberty of speech. When you tell us that our secret associations are illegal, I answer, that the right of association for good is legal, and that the exercise of this right becomes illegal from secrecy only where public association is permitted. When the Christians were pro-

scribed, they had their meetings in the Catacombs — solely for prayers? No: 'twas to consult together on the means of promulgating the word of Jesus, and of gaining proselytes in the ranks of the enemy, even among the centurions and dependants of the Pagan official world. You cannot in conscience apply the principles of your normal state to our peculiar condition. You cannot censure or repudiate our means of action, the only ones left us, without declaring by implication that despotism is a good thing, that the liberty of which England boasts is an evil.

In 1818, a knot of men influential from their social position or their intellectual faculties — Count Frederick Confalonieri, Count Porro, Count Pecchio, the Marquis de Brême, Pellico, Borsieri, Romagnosi, and others, determined on trying if there were in Lombardy a means of peaceful realization for the cause of Italian progress. They established a literary journal, the *Conciliatore*, whose aim was, with all the moderation that could make it acceptable to the Censorship, to advocate ameliorating tendencies, material improvements, with liberal, large, and unprejudiced views in literature and education. They made an effort to practise what they taught: they founded schools; they placed themselves at the head of some industrial undertakings. In 1819 this journal was suppressed, and its founders enrolled in the Austrian black-book*.

* The suppression of periodicals entirely literary, whose every line undergoes the supervision of Censors ecclesiastical and political, would appear a fact inexplicable; but it has often occurred in Italy. The "Indicatore" of Genoa, the "Indicatore" of Leghorn, the "Antologia" of Florence, all in turn suffered this fate. Other literary miscellanies, such as the "Subalpino" of Turin, were compelled to insert from time to time, as if from the editor, a political article furnished by the Government.

In 1822, they were almost all at Spielberg. They were compromised, you will say, in the conspiracy of 1821. Possibly : but do you think these men would have become conspirators, if they could have been aught else — if every avenue of peaceful and gradual progression had not been closed against them ?

In 1833, when the insurgents in the Papal States had succumbed to Austrian intervention, the provinces of Romagna and Bologna—encouraged by the Memorandum which the five Powers had addressed to the Pope on the 21st May, pointing out to him the necessity of reform — resolved on essaying whether it were possible to obtain a few administrative ameliorations by legal routes, by a peaceful expression of their requirements. On evacuating the States, Austria had handed over the Marches of Pesaro and Ancona to the Papal troops ; and Romagna and Bologna to the National Guard, on whom the Pope had himself imposed the maintenance of public order. That portion of this Guard representing the city and province of Bologna, numbering more than sixty thousand, through the hands of their General-in-chief Giuseppe Patuzzi, addressed to the Cardinal-Secretary of State Bernetti a petition *raisonnée*, setting forth their grievances and indicating the remedies. Another petition, more or less to the same purpose, was presented on the part of the Magistrates and the Municipal Corps of Perugia ; another by the Provincial Council of Ravenna, composed of men known for their devotion to the Government, with a Pro-Legate for President ; another from the city of Forlì, bearing thousands of signatures, and among them those of the Municipal Corps and the Bishop's Vicar ; more followed from different districts, town and country. The Judges and advocates of

Bologna subscribed a separate petition confined to judicial matters, addressed to the Pro-Legate Count Grassi. Finally, a deputation, chosen by the heads of the provincial magistracies, assembled at Bologna on the 25th January 1832, to press on the Pro-Legates the prayers of these petitions. In conformity with the Memorandum of the Five Powers, they prayed the admission of laymen into all the offices of Government, the participation of the people in the election of the Councils, and the establishment of a central Junta, to watch over the higher branches of administration. The Secretary of State replied, that no deputation would be attended to; the petitions received no answer; the dissolution of the civic guards was announced. With the aid of a loan facilitated by Austria, the Government formed a corps of five thousand men, principally raised from the prisons of Civita Castellana, San Leo, and Sant' Angelo. They poured into the Romagna, where the aged, women, and unresisting men were horribly massacred. And when, exasperated at these cruelties, the younger population of certain cities flew to arms, for the second time Austria intervened, in July 1832.

In 1834, shortly after the wholesale slaughters at Genoa, Alexandria, and Chambery, efforts on the path of popular education, similar to those in Lombardy of 1818, were made in Piedmont. Some praiseworthy young men advocated the necessity of gradually enlightening the children of the poor; they entreated means for this end; they received subscriptions, and proposed gratuitous schools. Such was the list of promoters appended, that it was impossible openly to discountenance the project without exciting a dangerous spirit of discontent. The Government assented, but, to have its own share in the undertaking, handed over

the direction of the schools to the Jesuits, or to religious associations formed under their auspices. Two years of effort and sacrifice on the side of the National Party resulted in the surrender of some hundreds of young souls to the enervating, mind-strangling corruption of Jesuitism.

I ask then of every true Englishman—After these facts, after this experience, can we entertain hopes of our future through means *peaceful and legal*?

I put to every true Englishman this simple question — Imagine eighty thousand French soldiers stationed in Ireland or Scotland ; imagine that, whenever the people in that portion of the English territory remaining free called for improvement, advancement, or change in their internal laws, the eighty thousand foreigners should intrude the points of their bayonets, and say, “ In the name of brute force, stir not ; ” what would you do ?

What you would do, we have made up our minds to do : and we are trying to understand each other, so as to be able to do it.

That sums up the Italian question : in that consists what to-day you brand with the name of *conspiracy*—what you would hail to-morrow, should we triumph, with the title of *glorious victory*.

But further — for I aim at exhausting all conceivable objections — if we had on one side governments despotic, but humane, frank, and moderate in the exercise of absolute power ; on the other, masses degraded, barbarous, cruel, parching for vengeance and sanguinary reaction ; would it possibly be our duty still to reflect on the route we are pursuing, still to balance present evils against the dangers of destroying them—to ask ourselves, “ *Have you the right to inundate*

your country with kindred blood, in the hope that blood will moisten the tree of your liberty ?

I said *possibly* : for, in truth, I know not if there be an evil graver than despotism ; I know not but that *life* even by gasps is to be preferred to death ; and I confess, that whenever my thoughts turn to the inviolability of the human soul rather than to its terrestrial envelope, on the mission of incessant labour assigned us rather than on the theory of material wellbeing invented by a depraved world, I feel myself compelled mentally to reiterate, “ *Malo periculosam libertatem quam tutum servitium.* ”

But most happily, we have not the slightest ground for the doubt. The unanimity of opinion amongst us puts an end to those internal dangers that might cause timid and scrupulous spirits to hesitate.

We admit that serious individual acts have from time to time occurred in Italy, particularly in Romagna, where anarchy and arbitrariness render the subordinates of the government principle more than elsewhere personally responsible. Commissaries of Police discharging their odious mission with refinements in cruelty have sometimes fallen under the poniard : incendiary spies insinuating themselves into the ranks of Liberal associations to throw their members to the vengeance of the executive, have sometimes been stopped in the midst of their infernal work by the vengeance of the men they were betraying. But whenever the National party appeared openly in the arena, not a single excess, not a thought of reaction against the inflictors of so much suffering, sullied its standard.

I have already said : Thrice have we been triumphant ; thrice have we had the power in our own hands : did we abuse it ? was there a single drop of blood spilt ? — a

single persecution begun against the men of the deposed Government? I appeal to our enemies: was there a single person in 1820, 1821, or 1831, who conceived a necessity for expatriating or concealing himself?

Such, thank God, has hitherto been our mode of carrying on the war: such it will continue to be, I hope, whatever may be our sufferings in the interval yet interposing between us and victory.

I would, for the honour of my country and of the human race, that I could say as much for the Powers we combat with; for, whatever might be their moderation in the incidents of the struggle, our right to their overthrow would not be diminished. But the page of their history that remains to be exposed is the gloomiest, the most disgusting I know in the annals of contemporary Europe. I am not one of those who claim a kind of impunity for our party, and who cry out: "Assassination!" as each of the vanquished is led to the scaffold. I firmly believe in the immorality of the punishment of death; and it seems to assume a colour yet more degrading to our age, when visited on political offences; but I cannot look for the initiative in this great reform from governments like ours, placed in extreme danger. There is war between them and us; and I am willing that every sad necessity arising thence should be borne calmly and without exaggerated reaction. But I say, that in Italy they are waging a war of barbarians, and not of civilized Europeans; I say that the way in which political prosecutions are conducted among us would suffice, if there remained a spark of humanity in the breasts of nations, to impress on Europe that a supremacy daring to make use of such processes must necessarily be founded on a vast injustice.

I recounted further back a few facts that were enough to indicate, I thought, the style in which they managed political prosecutions in that part of Italy subjected to Austria. The three I am about to add will give the measure of the injustice, the rage, and the iniquity, that influence the spirit of our Austrian rulers towards the National party.

In 1821, Count Frederic Confalonieri was condemned to death; which sentence, as an act of high clemency, was commuted into the *carcere duro* for life. The only thing proved against him was a letter written to the General-Minister of War Santa Rosa, at the period of the Piedmontese insurrection, and when the revolutionary troops, encamped on the Ticino, were preparing to pour into the plains of Lombardy. Here is the letter :

“ General — If I ever possessed any influence with you, let this be the occasion for evincing it. I plead our old friendship — I plead the good opinion you formerly honoured me with, to beg of you not to pass the Ticino. Lombardy is not prepared to receive you. Your advance would only compromise those who should declare for you, who would have no force to support you. Spare this province the evils of a contest in which you could not be victorious. ”

This letter, written to a revolutionary General, was held to be a crime against the State *.

Ciro Menotti, a young and rich banker of Modena, was at the head of those who in 1831 organized an insurrectionary movement in that city. Attached in his *palazzo* before the hour fixed on for the outburst,

* After fourteen or fifteen years residence at Spielberg, Confalonieri was amnestied.

after a contest heroically sustained for a whole night by thirty young men who happened to be with him, he fell wounded into the hands of the Duke. Shortly after, when the insurgents were successful, the Duke took to flight, and carried with him his prisoner, bound, into the *Austrian territory*; into the territory thus spoken of in an Imperial and Royal order of the 14th September 1826 — “ Every slave is free from the moment he sets foot on Austrian territory or even on board an Austrian vessel. ” Menotti was thrown into a prison at Mantua. A deputation from Modena made ineffectual claims for his liberty. The new state of things having been subverted by an Austrian army, the Duke re-conveyed his prisoner to Modena, and there hanged him on the 26th August. It may be that, as an Italian, I exaggerate the importance of this fact; but I know, if I were an Englishman, I should feel my cheeks redden at the mere thought that the correspondance of an Italian patriot has been covertly violated for a period of five months, by a Secretary of State for England, to gratify the Ambassador of a government on whose territory a foreign Prince was allowed to drag after him one of his subjects in fetters, and to deposit him in prison as a reserve for the scaffold.

Some months afterwards, the Austrian Executive gave the following answer to a petition from Celeste Menotti *, the victim's brother. Celeste had been himself captured at sea with other patriots on board the *Isotta*, the vessel before mentioned; and the petition claimed his liberty, for, though a Modenese subject, he was then in an Austrian prison at Venice. The answer is, in my opinion, a chef d'œuvre of immorality.

* Now living at Paris.

“ His Imperial and Royal Majesty, far from wishing to pronounce judgement against Celeste Menotti, recognizes an obligation towards his Royal Highness the Duke of Modena to give up the subject of that Sovereign to the competent authorities. But the petitioner being in custody of the Imperial and Royal authority of Austria, and his Majesty being desirous to afford him an opportunity of serving the cause of public tranquillity, it is his Sovereign pleasure that the petitioner should be prevailed on to declare all that he knows of political events and revolutionary plots, and particularly of the origin and carrying out of the late revolution in Italy, and other objects relating thereto ; his Majesty deciding on his treatment according to the conduct the petitioner may adopt in this affair. Consequently, if the revelations of the *detenu* are recognized as true, his Majesty is disposed to hold out to him the promise not to hand him over to the Modenese Government, and moreover, to set him at liberty, if he merits it ; adding, that in case his declarations should be of such a nature as to be considered important, the petitioner would acquire a peculiar claim on his Majesty’s consideration. ”

I need not say, that the invitation to turn traitor met with the contempt it deserved.

I think I have said enough of Austria : her Italian Viceroys, however, have found a way of surpassing her.

In this respect, the Duke of Modena has achieved a European and well-earned reputation. I readily refer those of my readers conversant with Italian and who are able to procure the work, to a little book which I have already quoted — a precious book, now too scarce, containing the history of the proceeding instituted at Rubiera against those accused of belonging

to secret societies. But contemporaneously with these proceedings — conducted by a Commission of State, (*Stataria*) in consequence of a law promulgated in 1821 * ; which, notwithstanding the principle denying law any retrospective effect, was applied to such as were already detained in the prisons of Rubiera — the proceedings on the assassination of Besini sum up marvellously the theories of *justice* presiding in that province of Italy. Giulio Besini, a *ci-devant Carbonaro*, but then a Director of Police discharging his functions with the full persecuting energy of an apostate, was poniarded in the street on the evening of the 15th May 1822. Arrests took place on the same night ; a Commission of State was appointed by the Duke ; and, as if hinting, *you must find me the guilty among those prisoners*, a decree, (published afterwards, at the close of the sentence, but with this date,) was signed, fixing the place where those capital punishments should be carried into effect which would be awarded by the Commissioners to the authors of the crime. Gioachino Zanolì and Pietro Zoccolì were among those chiefly inculpated. After two months and a half of investigation, the Commission, composed of the Advocate-President Alessandrini, the Judges Zerbinì and Martinelli, the Advocate Fiscal Angiolini, and the Chancellor Cremonini, acquitted them both. They were, however, retained

* This law took out of the ordinary jurisdiction and submit to the power of Commissioners of State, appointed by the Sovereign “ *ad hoc*, ” incendiaries, those accused of plotting against the Government, and all persons suspected of enrolling themselves in secret societies. The prisons of Rubiera were already overgorged with prisoners whose arrest and connexion with the societies had preceded this law ; to which however they were made amenable.

in prison, at the disposal of the Police, till the middle — will it be believed ? — of 1827. For a year and a half, Zanolì was confined successively in two wretched prisons called *La Mantovana* and *L' Orba* : from thence he was transferred to the *Camerone*, a prison with bare apertures for windows. The air, the cold, and the damp lodged in his joints, and he pined in sickness isolated and unattended for more than eighteen months. At length the surgeon of the prison, Giovanni Ganzerli, made a report to the Government, declaring that he could no longer answer for the life of his prisoner if they did not remove him to another prison : the reply was, *they did not know where to put him*. The surgeon was soon afterwards dismissed. Zoccoli, shut up in solitary confinement, sometimes in *La Mantovana*, sometimes in a prison known as *La Carbonara*, received so much ill-treatment, that in despair, he resolved to die of starvation ; but his keepers prevented him, by placing an instrument in his mouth to hold it open, and then administering nourishment. On the 15th July 1826, a new Commission of State was appointed, and a fresh investigation commenced. The examinations, almost entirely by night, began in September, and concluded in April 1827 by a decree ordering the restoration of the accused to liberty. This was at length carried into effect ; but accompanied as to Zoccoli, pursuant to decision of the Supreme Council of Justice, by the surveillance of the Police.

With the two I have been speaking of, there was arrested, on the night of Besini's death, another Modenese, named Gaetano Ponzoni. When pressed in his death-bed, Besini had said that if any individual could be suspected, it was Ponzoni ; whom four months before, he had caused to be deprived of an office under

the Congregation of Charity. The Marquis Coccapani, a creature of the Duke and Governor of Modena, ordered the Cancelliere Solmi, who was receiving the deposition of the dying man, to suppress all that was mere suspicion, and to write that Besini had indicated Ponzoni as the murderer. Solmi refused ; and the day after he was dismissed. Arraigned before the State Commission, no conviction could be procured against the accused. One of the Judges, Zerbini, gave judgment for death ; another, Alessandrini, the galleys for life ; the third, Martinelli, an acquittal : this last, also, was soon after dismissed. Ponzoni remained in prison, at the disposal of the Government, till 1826. Then brought before another Commission, he was condemned to imprisonment for life — an imprisonment aggravated with every severity by the Government officers : in 1829, he was transferred to a prison at the back of which were cells full of mephitic exhalations, tenanted by those condemned for crimes on the highway ; and the only aperture for light was boarded up. In 1831, the insurrection restored him to liberty.

Sentences were given, besides, against some forty individuals — nine for death, the rest for various terms of imprisonment. Of the nine condemned to death, eight, fortunately, made their escape : one alone suffered — Giuseppe Andreoli, an ecclesiastic, who ascended the scaffold with the calmness and resignation of a saint, thanking Heaven aloud that he was the only one to die.

Now, listen ! Zuccoli, Zanoli, Ponzoni, — all the men martyred during these long years, were completely innocent : they did not even know the murderer of Besini. A young student it was, who, revolting at the cruelties exercised by a man that had once belonged to

the National party, took upon himself, without suggestion, without accomplice, to strike the blow. This person, living to this day, had left Italy. During the trial of Ponzoni, he sent from London to the Modenese authorities a declaration, backed by proofs, and legally authenticated according to English forms. But the Duke, irritated that the guilty individual was out of his power, determined at least to make the responsibility of the act fall on the whole party. The Judges, selected by him, knew this : they knew, were it only by the dismissals I have recorded, that they had been appointed to condemn. Had not the Duke their *master* chosen the place of execution on the very night of the murder ? Had he not replied to an observation that Ponzoni was evidently innocent : — “ *Well ! Let him bide in prison till the real culprit be found.* ” —

I have spoken of the cruelties of Besini. I will only mention one — practised by others beside, belonging in short to the system, but carried to an extreme under his administration. I mean, the infusion of *belladonna* (atropos belladonna) into the aliment destined for certain *detenus*, so as to wrest from them revelations by weakening the nervous system. I will name as among those to whom this potion was administered — Giovanni Manzotti, Secretary of the commune of St. Ilario, the advocate Antonio Rampari of Montecchio, Doctor J. B. Cavandoli, of Canossa, Ex-Cancelliere of the Archives at Brescello, and the Jew Latis of Modena. The dread among the *detenus* was such that the Cassiere Toschi starved himself to death in prison.

I referred above to the execution of Menotti. Another perished with him on the scaffold — one Borelli, a notary. He had never meddled with any plots ; he

had never belonged actively to the national party : but he had been called on in his quality of notary, by the Provisional Government of 1831, who would have sent a file of gendarmes for him if he had refused, to certify the signatures of those individuals who drew up the act announcing the Duke's deposition.

Equally, nay more innocent, as the sequel has proved, was the Cavaliere Ricci, executed in 1831 for conspiring against the life of the Duke : innocent or guilty, the proceedings were conducted after an infamous fashion, fit parallel for those following the murder of Besini. The accused were seven in number. A Military Commission was appointed for their trial composed of eight persons, among whom was a sergeant, a corporal, a sub-corporal, and a private. Now, to those who know the authority over subalterns which the State permits to the superior officer, who can murder them under the baton with impunity for the slightest transgression, it is clear that the President of the Commission, master of five votes including his own, had in his hands the fate of the destined victim. The Commission was appointed on the 5th July ; and judgment was given on the 11th — six days sufficing for a necessarily complicated process embracing seven persons. Doctor Carlo Bonazzi was added to the Commission as Judge Assessor and Fiscal — that is, judge and accuser at the same time. Counsel for the defendants were nominated *ex-officio* ; a mode, by the by, which was also adopted in the Rubiera proceedings, in which the more than fifty parties implicated were deprived of free choice of counsel. The Commission never confronted the accused with their accusers, never examined them, never saw them : they came to a decision on the written process, based, according to the language of the sen-

tence itself, “ on special indications furnished by the Government ” *. The decree sets forth “ that on a certain evening of a certain day in the first week of March, Ricci, Montanari, Tosi, Piva, Guicciardi, Gasparini, with two others who had fled, had devised to slay with fire-arms or with the sword, and with the assistance of a numerous troop of armed conspirators, the Duke Francis the Fourth, on a certain day of the month to seize on the person of the Duchess at the same time, by way of hostage, and so obtain possession of the State that two hundred louisdors were to be advanced the day before to Montanari and Tosi as the price of the murder that Ricci was to be present at the consummation of the crime. ” The pretended conspirators were not apprehended till the end of the month of May : no overt act, no indicative of preparation, had been manifested at that date of a deed that was to have been committed in March ; not a man suspected of belonging to the *numerous troop of armed conspirators* had been arrested ; not a single weapon had been discovered. It would have been natural to suppose that the project, if it ever existed, had been abandoned, and could furnish no ground for a penal process. But, setting that aside, would Ricci, who must have been troubled with very little misgiving, since he was to be present at the event, — Ricci, at the head of a numerous armed band, master of the Duke’s life by himself or his subalterns, — would he have sought an assassin at the price of two hundred louis-

* At the Rubiera prosecutions in 1821, two of the members of the Tribunal, the Advocates Bavelli and Mazzoli, refused to found their judgment on depositions drawn up by the Police : they were suspended from the exercise of their profession.

dors ? Above all, would he have chosen a man whom, according to the decree, *he had never seen before* ? The only proof adduced in this document to establish such a tissue of absurdity was the declaration of two of the accused, Montanari and Tosi ; the other five persisting in an absolute denial of every thing imputed to them. Now, Tosi, aged fifty-eight, had passed thirty years of his life in the prisons of Mantua and Modena, for thefts of various kinds : Montanari was only thirty-seven ; but, the son of a criminal, he had already passed six years in confinement, for theft ; no sooner was that punishment complete than he was implicated in a case of assassination, and he was only released at the end of two years by a verdict hardly amounting to *not proved*. Both had been some time in prison for stealing of cheese, when Ricci was arrested ; and there they concocted their evidence. Yet, so entirely were their fabrications aimed at the life of Ricci alone, that though they related to a *single* fact, touching equally all the accused, by I know not what horrible contradiction, they were treated as forming a complete proof against one and not so against the others. Ricci was condemned to death, the others to minor punishments. The family of this unfortunate man threw themselves at the feet of the Duke to implore his favour : he made a display of *sovereign clemency* by ordering him to be *shot*, in place of being *hanged*.

Thus, Sir, do they manage political prosecutions in Italy.

Neither must it be said that these facts are peculiar, and appertain exclusively to the Duchy of Modena. I can produce analogous incidents from the Southern extremity of the Peninsula. I can find in the Kingdom

of Naples a man to place beside the Duke — the Marquis del Carretto, Minister of Police. The deeds committed by him in 1828 in the province of Salerno, at Catania in Sicily in 1837, the Aquila proceedings in 1842 — the entire story of the inquisitorial policy, of the debaucheries and cruelties exercised by the Neapolitan Government, especially in the five years 1825-30, rival the infamies I have just narrated. But I would rather conclude these sad recitals, for the subject weighs heavily on my soul as I write, by a few words on the political trials of 1833 in Piedmont. These are the trials, Sir, of which an agent of the English Government asserts, — in one fragment of those despatches that you so amiably put together and laid on the table of the House to excite detestation against myself—“ that they had been *fairly managed*. ” The few facts I am about to detail may perhaps prove to you how little faith should generally be bestowed in the reports of men who come into contact only with *official* persons, naturally most interested in concealing the truth.

In 1833, the general discontent had reached the Piedmontese army : vague rumours were in circulation announcing an insurrection at hand ; and whatever might have been the extent of preparation, I doubt not but that if the initiative had risen promptly from the bosom of the middle classes, at Genoa, Turin, or elsewhere, a great portion of the troops would have acceded. Through unforeseen circumstances, the moment was lost. The Government, regaining courage, seized the opportunity in its turn, and determined on striking decisive blows. Numerous arrests took place both among the army and civilians, at all the important points in the kingdom. Searches were made, with the

object, it was said, of discovering depots of arms, or something which might bring to light the existence and the ramifications of the conspiracy. So far the Government was acting on the right of defence: but in proportion as danger disappeared, they commenced the attack, and by frightful means. To calm the fermentation, and to deprive the arrested of public sympathy, the authorities did not hesitate to publish a proclamation affirming that the plan of the conspirators had been discovered, and that it consisted in blowing up by mines the various barracks, situated in populous quarters, as the commencement of manifold horror. Every species of terror and seduction was set at work in the prisons, not to confirm this shameless statement — that was not attempted — but to justify as far as possible the acts of vengeance meditated. To some they promised life, to others gold; whilst on young men of lively and susceptible imagination, they brought into play all the resources of a system of moral torture often more stringent than physical. * The search had been entirely ineffectual: but they found informers in the prisons. The trials and death-sentences had no other groundwork. At Genoa, of which I am now particularly speaking, as in other cities, a court-martial or Military Commission was appointed to try both soldiers and civilians. These latter protested. A representation addressed to the Monarch by five Genoese advocates unconnected with the proceedings, appeared on the 17th July, to back this protest, and to demand that civilians should

* At the end of this pamphlet I print some fragments of a declaration placed in my hands, signed by one of the unfortunates who succumbed at Alexandria and made partial revelations.

be remitted to the ordinary tribunals: this was answered negatively on the 25th. It was demanded, that at least the civilians might choose their advocate for the defence: this also was refused. The informers, who were promised a pardon, contradicted each other in their depositions. On the 12th May, two were lodged in the same prison; on the 23d, three; and on the 30th, the whole four were thrown together. Now they agreed as they could; and the public heard, for example, one sergeant Turff declare, in confirmation of the evidence of another soldier, Piacenza, that he had himself given to the Association the detail as to the Artillery, though he had never made mention of this important circumstance in seven preceding examinations, that had exhausted all he pretended to know. As to the time fixed for the insurrection, the heads of the conspiracy, and the object aimed at, the contradictions recorded in their separate examinations remained inef-faceable, completely destroying the identity of the fact they laboured to establish. One of the four went so far as to declare that he had been affiliated to the Association (Giovine Italia) in 1830, when it was not yet in existence. Well, it was *solely* on the assertions of these men, to whom immunity had been promised — on the contradictory denunciations of persons who had been told, *There is no way of saving your life but by becoming informers against your brethren* — and on a pencil note addressed to one of them, which I insert below, to show its insignificance,* that the military

* This will prove to you that we were at the place of meeting; not being able to wait longer, we acquaint you that we will talk to-morrow of all that you have been speaking about to Oi. Endeavour to be to-morrow at the Caffè delle Quattro Stagioni, where you shall have an answer. Be sure to bring with you the note or list agreed on,
 “ Yours
 Ni. Oi. ”

The names were interpreted to be those of Noli and Orsini.

tribunal declared the existence of a conspiracy to be established ; awarded I know not how many sentences of imprisonment for five, ten, or twelve years ; and on the 15th May sent to death Francesco Miglio*, sergeant of Sappers, Giuseppe Biglia, sergeant of the Guards, and Antonio Gavotti, fencing-master. Similar occurrences were taking place at Turin, Alexandria, and Chambery. General Morra at Chambery, Governor Galateri at Alexandria, added revolting cruelty in the punishment to the iniquity of the trials. At Alexandria, one Vochieri, condemned to death after having suffered the most brutal treatment from the Governor, entreated as a favour that they would not take him past the windows of the house where his wife, then in a state to create sympathy, and his family, were residing. Hewasrefused : the mournful procession stopped before the door on its way to the place of suffering. This was the Reign of monarchical Terror. In one town they shot their victims as assassins murder, almost in the dark, at the very dawn of day : in another, the troops refusing the horrid service, convicts were set to slaughter honest men. And as if the scaffold did not satiate vengeance, they sought to slay the soul before assaulting the body. At Genoa, Jacopo Ruffini, a young surgeon, had resisted every temptation to lead him to dishonourable inculpations. One day the War-Auditor called him before him: " You are " said he " a noble but misled young man. You thought you were proceeding with companions worthy of you to the achievement of a generous aim ; you refuse now to save your life by confessions, that, by the by, will teach the Government nothing : but I feel pity for you and for

* Miglio made a will in favour of the indigent family of his fellow sufferer Gavotti.

your aged mother. See here, what the men are for whom you are braving martyrdom!" Papers were placed before him: they were informations against himself; and at the bottom was the forged name of one of his most intimate companions. In such a moment the young man could make no very critical examination. Deceived, stupefied, grief-stricken, he asked till the morrow morning to take his resolution. Re-conducted to prison, he tore out with his fingers a nail from the door of his cell, and opened with it a vein in his throat. On the wall was found written in blood, "*Behold my answer. I bequeath the avenging to my brethren.*" He was my earliest and best friend. Never would he have forgotten me: neither will I ever forget him, or his last words.

And to crush such spirits — to uphold such Governments and such horrors — you, Sir James, have descended to arts so low that not the purest purpose could justify them! To uphold such governments against the recognized will of a suffering people, you sought to extenuate your first mistake by calumny! To uphold such Governments, *falsehoods* have been alleged, perhaps for the first time in full Parliament, by persons charged with august duties! To uphold such Governments, you, Ministers of a free and constitutional nation, have extorted from a Parliamentary majority politically bound to you, the disgraceful declaration "that it did not regret what had occurred."

In commencing, I promised myself to abstain from all detailed inquiry into the manner in which for four or five months I was the object of a detestable espionage, and into the conduct of the Cabinet and the House of Commons pending the debates the question gave rise to. I am pleading a cause too exalted for descend-

ing to the narrow limits of a private matter. But I say, there has been something deeply to be deplored, something deeply afflicting, not only in the fact of the espionage itself, but in the *purpose* of that espionage—in the manner in which it was endeavoured to be defended—in the painful indifference of the language used by Committees appointed to report,—in the justifications advanced by the Ministers of England, altogether based on assertions proved to be false—in the assent blindly given to those justifications by a Parliamentary majority, — in the votes that successively rejected all those motions by which good men sought to restore England to the esteem of nations, debased as she had been by her statesmen to the level of the Papal Government, or that of Naples. I say, that indifference on a question of public morality is a serious symptom for a nation's heart, and that every Englishman who sincerely loves his country should ponder anxiously on it.

I have replied by facts, that appear to me conclusive, to the pacific counsels of the men who wish us well. In reality, these counsels flow from despondency rather than from any other source: and this despondency results from an inaccurate conception of our history and of our present tendencies. The story of our divisions, of our intestine quarrels of the Middle Ages, has been so often repeated to the world, that we are habitually judged by that standard. Beneath every objection to our watchword, I have almost always detected in men of sincerity, not so much a belief in the impossibility of success, as a disbelief in the possibility of a national organization for us, that success once obtained. The *external* manifestations of our political life ceasing in the sixteenth century, at the fall of

Florence, the observation of those who judge us from a distance halts there also.

There is no true period of cessation for nations so long as the *purpose* to which their historically-national tendency impels them, has not been attained ; so long as the faculties and powers whose germ they bear within them have not reached the highest degree of possible development ; so long, in a word—to avail myself of a phrase scarcely current in England, but that perfectly expresses my view of the subject—so long as their mission in Humanity is unaccomplished. To that period Italy has not arrived. What she has done in the world, once by material force, by *conquest*—once by moral force, by the *word*—she has done in the name of a city or a man ; in the name of a power or a principle incarnate in that man or in that city, never in the name of the entire nation. The nation has never yet existed in action. There has been a Rome of the Cæsars ; there has been a Rome of the Popes ; the Rome of the Italian people has yet to burst forth. But everything has hitherto converged towards this point. The internal crisis that so long vexed Italy has its meaning, its historical explanation in this : it was the working of the *Italian element*, taking up substance by substance, reducing, absorbing, all the foreign elements, races, and castes, that came from every quarter of Europe to pour like a flood on the Peninsula. All that function of fermentation and ebullition that constitutes our Middle Age was a work of fusion : it elaborated as it were the *medium* adapted for the development of that unifying Italian germ that still broods under the accumulated ruin of the Capitol and the Vatican. Moreover, this work has never been discontinued. It went on, less

strikingly because less varied, but with twofold efficacy, during the times that followed the fall of the latter republics—times that appeared to the eyes of the superficial observer as swallowed up in inertness and insensibility. When civic liberty fell, the work of equalization progressed the faster : if it were less apparent, it was precisely that it was acting on the nation's *viscera*. Whether before or during the revolutionary movements that at a later period came from without to agitate Italy, the people gained ground far more than the educated classes : in fact, if from time to time there were manifestations crowned with success, they were popular manifestations, such as those of 1746 at Genoa, such as those, hitherto so misunderstood, of Naples in 1799.

This grand general fact of the Italian People becoming by degrees substituted for every partial element, influencing hereafter every question, and forming the necessary and only point of departure for every endeavour at action, has completely escaped all those who have taken up the Italian question. The book of the nation has been sealed to them all—to the historian Botta, as well as to the revolutionists Santarosa and Menotti ; to M. De Sismondi, as well as to the Provisional Governments of 1831. Among writers, Romagnosi alone has caught it ; but the deduction of all the consequences was beyond him. Among men of action, Napoleon alone, himself an Italian, comprehended it ; but he did not choose to apply it. France—perhaps because he felt more sure of her obedience—was his lever of action, and he would give her no rival. 'Twas not till St. Helena, when there was no longer a motive for silence, that he could declare—
“ Unity of manners, of language, of literature, must, at

a future more or less remote, end in bringing her inhabitants under one government." Memoirs, Vol. 3.

Thanks to this fact, all is now changed in Italy. The absorbing power of the Italian element—so absorbing that races possessing the unevennesses of the Goth and the Lombard could retain them but one or two centuries—has smoothed, has levelled everything. Race is extinct in Italy: from one end to the other all is Italian; and I would cheerfully ask such as still amuse themselves, perchance to parade a slender erudition, with painting *in terrorem* the sects inevitably to teem from the bosom of Italy on the day of her emancipation, to lay the finger, in that land where from their very entrance all these races have been crossed, mingled, and confused, on the precise spot now occupied by this or that: I would ask them to point out a single difference between the Lombard, the Romagnese, and the Neapolitan,* which, as I said before, is not equally marked in France between the Basque, Breton, and Norman families. The Middle Age is dead: the Guelphs and Ghibellines have passed away with it; and those who dream of them full of life, and prepared to revive and rekindle bitter dissensions between province and province, deal in romance and not in history. The factions have lost their standards: the Pope and the Emperor tore them from their hands on the day they signed their treaty of union. Three centuries of an oppression exercised towards all in the name of the two, have placed the pair on exactly the same footing, and devoted them to the same conditions of life and death. No more wars;

* The islands alone present a physiognomy decidedly peculiar; and no system of consolidation ever aimed at withholding from them a special administration.

no more rivalries : as regards the elements of nationality, there exists no longer Genoese, nor Tuscan, nor Bolognese, nor Roman : there exist—in Italy as everywhere else,—elements for the Commune, none for the Province. By an apparent contradiction that the vanity inherent to mediocrity sufficiently explains, it is just among the class of semi-thinkers, of semi-gifted litterateurs, political or professional—the superficial crust thrown over Italy by foreign influences and foreign schools, offering itself first to the sight, and not worth the probing—it is among that class that the distrusts and jealousies talked of are still exhibited : among that class at least is to be found a disposition to admit and exaggerate these jealousies, little reflected elsewhere. The people, the grand Italian mass, know nothing of them. How should they feel them ? Wretched slaves that they are, where should they find elements of rivalry, local influences to pander to, vanities to satisfy ? Admitted, that there is in the bosom of this mass a profound leaven of hostility, of distrust, of reaction : the spirit of individualism, as produced by the scantiness, the want of education—by the irritation of suffering, the void of all social interest, and the depraving system of powers based on terror and espionage—yet pervades that mass to a very high degree ; but to confound individualism and federalism is to change men into provinces. In fact, it is among inhabitants, among classes, among districts of the same city, that these rancours, these envies still feed and flourish : they are with difficulty found between city and city, still less between province and province. There is enough in the distrustful habits of the Italians of the present day to render extremely difficult and perilous the understanding that must necessarily precede any movement ;

but that movement successful, there is little or nothing to hinder the unification of Italy : *unification*, I say, and not *centralization*, such as it seems to be too often understood, pushed to those farthest limits where it passes into despotism. These two things, so essentially distinct, have, however, by a strange forgetfulness of first principles, been almost always confounded in this question. Many elements existing in Italy, and beyond all, the strength of individualism that I have just signalized, will, for a long time perhaps, oppose obstacles to every essay towards too great an administrative centralization : but what has administrative centralization in common with political union ? In that love of independent activity, in that excess of vitality, that characterizes the individual Italian, and the true aggregation—that is to say, the Commune—in which he acts, there is wherewith to furnish legislative genius the means of creating an effective guarantee for liberty, by organizing in the Commune itself an instrument of control and defence against every effort of usurpation coming from the centre : it is no more than this ; and it would be a misapprehension to wish to deduce from it a necessity for the existence of another series of fictitious aggregations. Fictitious, most certainly ; for, on the one hand, almost all the States into which Italy is now divided, are not of popular national formation—they have been made what they are by foreign diplomacy or usurpation : on the other hand, there is not, there never has been, historically speaking, a settled, active antipathy of province against province. Scarcely do you find that the boundary of one of those provinces, as now traced, resulted from the wars that attended the period of Italian vigour. Those wars, when they were not between citizens of

the same city — “ tra quei che un muro e una fossa serra, ” as Dante expresses it — raged between one city and another : Pavia, Como, Milan ; Pisa, Sienna, Florence, and so on. But all these rival cities have long since been engulfed into one vortex of power ; their hatreds have been deadened by ages of common slavery. What remains of them — if indeed aught remains — is barely enough to furnish a proverbial expression for household gossip, and is too feeble to reach the forum of national regeneration. Prisoners may sometimes give a turn to sorrow by quarrelling in their chains ; but the first grand impulse towards general deliverance will stifle in enthusiasm this relic of the old leaven. The tocsin of the nation imposes silence on the gossip of the household : and the slight differences existing may become, under the hands of able and popular men, an excellent stimulus to emulating efforts.

Let me not be accused of neglecting facts, and of opposing hasty negatives to the deductions from a calm study of realities and to the lessons of experience : for I should be tempted to reply somewhat tartly to those *grave* and *calm* studies that are limited to a given epoch, and to that pretended experience that breaks tradition in place of continuing it, and nullifies the present for a past often ill-understood. Why should the recent immediate fact always be sacrificed to the ancient ? Why, in favour to the middle ages, are we always to shut our eyes to what the last forty years have been incessantly repeating as to the inevitable effects of the impulse I have been describing on the Italian masses ? If those who nourish these fears for our future had seen, as we did, the wives and daughters of the people at Genoa, who a few days

before, in the bitterness of common misery, were singing old snatches of song against the Piedmontese, now lavishing flowers and acclamations, as they accompanied them on their route, on regiments of these same Piedmontese, that, after having worked out the movement of 1821, were quitting the city to march—at least so it was thought—against Austria; if they had seen the spirit of fusion and warm fraternity that actuated the youth of the most rival cities of the Papedom at the time of the insurrection of 1831; if they had followed, as we have done, the phases of Italian opinion throughout the inconceivable efforts of succeeding years—then they might comprehend what a feeling of Country, reduced to a frank and energetic formula, could accomplish in a land all the districts of which have been cementing their brotherhood for half a century by the blood of martyrs; they could more easily calculate the progress, what between its consecration on the battle-field and on the scaffold, that must have been made in Italy by an idea reëchoed for fifty years, half from conviction half from imitation, by our literature, and diffused, filtered, through all classes, by an uninterrupted chain of secret associations.

Italy, then, wills to be a nation; and one she must become, happen as it may. As certain as I am writing these words, this age will not pass away ere the protocols of the treaty of Vienna shall have served for wadding—perhaps on the march to Vienna itself—for the muskets of our Italian soldiery:

And now, if I were an Englishman—if the prejudice of distrust that still clings too much in this country to the name of *foreigner*, (a term that should have had no meaning since Christ spoke,) does not abstract

weight from the truths that fall from my lips — this is the language, my hand on my heart, that I would hold, not to you, Sir James, but to your countrymen, to whom I am writing under your name.

Before all things, hasten to wipe from your foreheads the burning stain of dishonour that your statesmen have planted there. You have, truckling to the foreign absolutist police, in the persons of your statesmen, played the spy for five months in most ignoble fashion, on patriots who are seeking to raise from Papal-Austrian mud the land in which their mothers live and suffer. Hasten to throw off, by blotting from your laws an odious and useless power, all identification between you and your statesmen. Do not suffer it to be said by the world, that the nation which abolished the slavery of the Negro tolerates with indifference the slavery of the White; and that besotted with calculations of immediate material gain, or blinded by the sordid divisions of political party, she has lost the *moral* sense or the courage to carry out such inspirations and their logical application. I know many men among you, deploring from the bottom of their hearts what has passed with regard to myself as immoral and unworthy of England, who gave their vote in favour of Ministers, not to shake a power already too much threatened. These, in my opinion, are the true culprits. They have forgotten that they are in their places not to support such and such men under all circumstances, but to support what is just, to overthrow what is unjust, without reference to secondary calculations. They have forgotten that the safety of England is not linked with individuals whatever name they may bear, but with the degree of morality she possesses, and which her representatives are bound to

make fruitful. Never has a moral people wanted a government worthy of it.

Reflect, then, seriously, on the character of your international policy, for the honour and future of your land are entirely dependent on it. There are men who think they have accomplished their mission towards their country, when they have contracted a petty treaty of commerce with a government that to-morrow may not see, or put back for a few years, by base compliances, a situation of difficulty that must inevitably arise. These may be clever men for a time, influential party-chiefs: but they are not statesmen. They avert for an instant tempests that must fall hereafter, the more terrible for the accumulation of destructive elements. They prop with the labour of a day old buildings irrevocably condemned to perish; they do not prepare a site, firm and free, for an erection truly great and permanent, that may give shelter throughout long ages to future generations. The statesman is he whose practice is a comment on the saying of Leibnitz—*The present, son of the past, is parent of the future.* The present must be for him a point of departure: the goal lies in the times that are to come. For his operations, England must be the fulcrum of the lever, whose power is to be felt abroad. He who undertakes to mould the power and the well-being of England without reference to a study of the European future, whatever he may do, will never be a great man nor the benefactor of his country.

This, however, is the problem that has been pursued, for I know not how many long years, by the men who direct your international policy.

The map of Europe is to redraw. The system of old monarchical nationalities, of the treaty of Westpha-

lia, is decayed. The popular element has dissolved it, and is preparing a new system. The Treaty of Vienna, in organizing a tyranny of the Great Powers over the smaller states, explicitly avowed the danger without succeeding in averting it. All that has occurred since then has been in contradiction to that treaty. Europe is tending to recompose itself in great uniform masses, resulting from a spontaneous popular impulse,—creating a mutual equilibrium as respects guarantees of internal independence — harmonizing themselves to a common aim, pursued under various systems, for the civilization of the world. Who among you scans this map of future Europe? New nationalities prepare everywhere to form. In a period more or less distant, but inevitable, Spain and Portugal will found one Iberian power; Poland will revive, a nucleus for Slavonian organization; Greece will outstep her existing boundaries, to incorporate all those colonies kindred in language and belief; Italy and the southern Slavonians will cause the empire of Austria to vanish: and which statesman of yours occupies his thoughts with these configurations of the future, whose signs are already visible on the horizon? Which of your statesmen asks himself — *What will be the character and the power of England when these things come to pass, if, revolving in the egotistical circle of her policy of a day, she shall have prepared for herself and these new nationalities neither homogeneity of tendencies, recollections of gratitude, or germs of sympathy?*

Before this problem, the statesman truly great and who really loves his country, will feel that nothing less is at stake than this alternative — either to be almost at the summit of the European edifice, or a power of the third rank.

Twenty-two years ago there was a man who, if he

had not a just conception of the mission of England, had at least a clear intuition of the state of things. Mr. Canning told you within the venerable walls of Westminster (28th April 1823) — *It is perfectly true . . . that there is a contest going on in the world between the spirit of unlimited Monarchy and the spirit of unlimited Democracy. Between these two spirits, it may be said that strife is either openly in action or covertly at work throughout the greatest portion of Europe. It is true, that in no former period in history is there so close a resemblance to the present as in that of the Reformation. It is true — it is, I own I think, a formidable truth—that in this respect the two periods do resemble each other.* Then with this spectacle before him, with Europe before him in arms for Evil and for Good, he coldly concludes — *Our station is essentially neutral—neutral not only between contending nations, but between conflicting principles.* This was precisely contrary to the conclusion drawn in analogous times by Elizabeth and Cromwell.

Since 1823, this contest has but enlarged. The efforts of nationalities — for that is my only ground in this debate — suppressed or unrecognized in the Treaties of Vienna, in some parts already victorious, elsewhere not yet so, have proved, do each day prove, that this contest is not a transitory effervescence, but a sacred war between Fact and Right, between the will of millions and the protocols of the old diplomacy. Your policy has been the same. Now as then, you pretend to stand calm, immoveable, in the midst of the European ferment; now as then, you declare yourselves neuter between two opposite principles. That is to say, you, a Christian nation, declare yourselves indifferent between the Good and the Evil, the Just and the Unjust; you, a people believing in the unity

of the human race the creation of the Deity, deny all oneness with it, all duty towards it ; you, the emancipators of the Blacks, you say — *Despotism or liberty, Austria or Italy, it matters not to us : we give alms to the exiled Poles — we give fêtes to their persecutor : we serve God and the Devil — and that is our part.*

But this part — this degrading, selfish, and atheistic part — you cannot sustain. Thank God, the force of principles is so great, that you must elect for one or the other — to ascend or descend. You deduced the sole logical consequence of your pretended neutrality when you said — *Let every one look at home : there shall be no intervention on our part anywhere ; let there be no intervention from any one else.* And yet you were obliged to look on quietly upon French intervention in Spain, upon Austrian in Italy. You said — *In virtue of our neutrality, we afford hospitality to all the proscribed, come from what part they may ;* and see what your Government adds to this proud declaration — *Good ; but upon condition of opening their letters, for the convenience of Baron Neumann, or any other agent of a foreign despotic power.* You, men constitutionally governed, who say that liberty is a holy thing, lower yourselves to the footing of spies, to crush this holy thing elsewhere and confirm tyranny on the Continent as long as possible.

I would not be misunderstood. I do not invoke the French propagandist army of 1793 : I do not wish it for my country, for it is not the *fact*, it is the *conscience* of liberty that we want ; and we can acquire that but by emancipating ourselves through our own efforts. But I do wish that there should be at least one nation in the world to set an example of public morality ; one nation professing a belief, whose language and acts should continually harmonize with that belief ;

one nation whose international policy should not be an insult to its internal policy. And I would wish, that cheered by active manifestations of sympathy here afforded us for our misfortunes and our efforts, my countrymen, who now sorrowfully say — *We have all the world against us, even free England*, might repeat encouragingly to each other — *If we succeed, we shall have friends and allies ; if we fall, we shall be lamented and admired.*

As for myself, Sir James, whom you have selected for the object of your diplomatic amiability, all that I have hitherto written must teach you what I think it my duty to do during the years of life that remain to me — to speak, to write, to act, by every fair means that are or may be in my power, for the emancipation of my unhappy country. I have had it said to me, that in affording hospitality, England did not intend to grant me the right of labouring on her soil for the wellbeing of my country, for the destruction of a great Injustice. I reject such language with all my energies ; and in rejecting it, I believe myself to be more English than those who proffer it. I do not believe that the hospitality of England is limited to the *body* of the exile : 'tis the *soul* — the soul with all its aspirations towards the Just and the True, with all that constitutes the human being—that she intended to welcome. Otherwise, the hospitality she is so proud of would be but a bitter irony. The man who sets foot on this soil of England is free — free in *thought* as well as in the instruments God has given him to realize that thought. I am using, and I shall use, this privilege : let him who would not do as much for his country stand forth and condemn me.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A.—Page 75.

*Report of the Deputies of the Kingdom of Italy at Paris,
immediately after the Abdication of Napoleon.*

To Count VERRI, President of the Regency at Milan.

IN the Report presented to the Regency, by means of the courier Flocchi, it is freely declared, that the Deputation believes itself to have left nothing unattempted that could lead to the accomplishment of the wishes of its nation, and of the scope of its mission. But the Deputation having nothing more at heart than that those who have made it the depository of its wishes should receive the most convincing proofs, by an exact relation, of its endeavours, thinks it fitting that the President should be informed with the most scrupulous confidence of every particular point in its operations.

The tenor of the first audience of the Emperor of Austria, the conference with the Prince Metternich, the *no answer* given by the High Allied Powers to the official notes directed to them, as well as the information we gathered from individuals of high character, had given sufficient foundation for believing that our country would be ceded in full property to Austria. Nevertheless, penetrated with the idea that it would have been a grievous fault on our parts not to have recourse to all valid endeavours, to the end that every hope might not be entirely lost to us, we did not desist until we were assured that there remained no longer for us even a possibility of success.

In sounding the dispositions of Russia, after repeated private and confidential communications with MM. de Nesselrode and Pozzo di Borgo, there appeared nothing encouraging for our cause. By separate conversations with Baron de Humboldt, we were convinced that Prussia, being content with the cessions made to her in Germany, views the aggrandizement of Austria on the side of Italy with a less jealous

eye. The discourses and conduct of the English Generals and agents in Italy, made known to us by your despatches of the 9th instant, delivered to us by the courier Verri, seemed to be, and were in fact, of a nature to fix our attention closely on the dispositions of the British Cabinet. And, notwithstanding the notices previously communicated to us were not calculated to inspire any peculiar motives for confidence, we thought it incumbent on us to commence the most direct and active negociations with that Cabinet, now our only remaining refuge. For this purpose, the Deputation charged Count Frederick Confalonieri to address Viscount Castlereagh and the Earl of Aberdeen in their name.

That Deputy being admitted into the presence of Lord Castlereagh, thus addressed him :—

My Lord,

The Deputation of the Kingdom of Italy to the High Allied Powers, of which I have the honour to be a member, has received despatches from the Provisional Government of that country, informing them that Generals Wilson, M'Farlane, and Lord W. Bentinck, gave to our nation the most flattering hopes of the high protection of England towards the restoration of the Kingdom of Italy ; moreover asserting, that our country was occupied in the name and on the behalf of the allied Powers taken collectively. At the same time we were informed, that Austria conducts herself towards us as an absolute mistress, invading all powers, civil and military ; and it is moreover apprehended, that our country is already definitively given over to be subjected to her. I consider it, nevertheless, as my duty to ask, in the name of the Deputation and my country, whether, and to what degree, we may rely on that high protection which we have been taught to hope for from England ?

Lord Castlereagh answered : —

I am of opinion that the first duty of an honest and enlightened Cabinet is not to deceive either individuals or nations. I should deceive you, if I promised you support in this matter. I ought honestly to confess, that our military men often hold a course and language foreign from that of the Cabinet: *they*, perhaps, would make national honour consist in professions of protection ; and *I* maintain that it depends on providing for the best interests of nations.

The Deputy.—The best interest of our nation requires and demands a king ; and let this king be even an Austrian, our wishes will be accomplished ; all that we desire being to

obtain an existence independent of other States, and a constitution, or national representation.

Lord Castlereagh.—Constitutions are rising on every side of Europe : Spain, France, Holland, Poland, Norway, and others, all demand constitutions ; I know not whether this may be for their good—I should be sorry if, from their own election, * * * * * these nations should in the end be too late convinced of their error.

The Deputy.—But England presents us with an illustrious and enviable example of the utility of a wise constitution.

Lord Castlereagh.—If we have been fortunate enough to found and sustain a work so difficult, it does not follow that all people, in all ages, are formed to prosper under a similar system. We do not adopt the maxim of Buonaparte, who thought proper to introduce his code into the most uncultivated nations. We have had recent experience in Sicily how mistaken is such a principle. Our constitution will never take root in that country ; and we must alter it. Then the Austrian is a government against which its subjects have less need of fortifying themselves than any other. In the history of that house to the present time, we discover no traces of the abuse of power or violence. It never fails by the excess of these qualities, but now and then by a deficiency in them. I now speak to you in full confidence. I would afford you all the support, all the assistance in my power, if I believed that it were to free you from an iron yoke like that of France, from which you have so lately been liberated. If you had formerly demanded my aid against France, I would have promised it, and lent my whole powers to your success. I will say more. When, in the negotiations at Parga, the *ci-devant* Emperor was treated with to renounce the kingdom of Italy in favour of one of his own family, the first basis on which I insisted, was, that a constitution should be afforded you the most fit to restrain the abuses of power ; but from the paternal government of Austria, I repeat that you have none to dread. I do not dissemble ; and I believe that your interests will be sufficiently secured without your insisting on a constitution, which, when it is useless, is always mischievous.

The Deputy.—Neither will I dissemble ; and I would not that our country, oppressed as she has been by the iron servitude from which she has now escaped, should under the

new order of things be so ill-fated as to look back with regret to the comparative happiness of her past existence.

Lord Castlereagh.—And how should that be?

The Deputy.—Although our country has never tasted the advantage of a political and national existence, she has been taught these twenty years to desire such an existence. The sheer hope and the bare name of Nation have impelled her to sacrifices of all kinds; and these sacrifices, this use, or even abuse, if you will, of its means and strength have carried her to a pitch of energy, of vigour, and power, that she never before attained. Seventy thousand armed Italians perished in Russia for a cause entirely alien to them; and the enemy themselves did justice to their discipline and bravery. All branches of the administration assumed a vigour and a life they had never before possessed. Public institutions sprang up; manufactures increased and improved; greater comfort was diffused; on the one hand, we saw a growing number of places of instruction, and on the other, a multiplicity of gardens and places of amusement: so well did energy and a kind of national vitality support this machine against the too often despotic and ruinous measures of the Government. I wish, my Lord, to see you thoroughly convinced of the truth of what I have the honour to assert,—that is, that we are not the men of twenty years ago, and that it is impossible for us to become so but by renouncing habits and sentiments grown part of our system, and dear to a nation endowed with intelligence, energy, and passions, that has acquired a large experience of political matters, a deeper love of country, and that has learnt also to war. And if we are no longer the men who twenty years ago enjoyed in drowsy content the *paternal government* of Austria, I do not think I risk too much if I proclaim my fears that neither will the Austrian government be what it was in times past. It must at least be admitted that the great pest of paper money—of a paper that has been ever depreciating, even in the course of a successful war, as this has been—cannot but have a very sinister influence also on any state, having itself so many wounds to heal, that should be incorporated with that monarchy. Moreover, it will not have escaped your sagacity, my Lord, that all countries have certain limits fixed by nature, by language, and by customs, that prescribe bounds and special laws to diverse nations. We have too well seen for many ages how uncertain has been the possession of Italy to foreign powers, who, in consequence of this opposition in language, character, and habits, may

have found there slaves and venal partisans, but never friends. Lastly, the history of late years shows us how indifferently Austria can guarantee our soil from invasion—it has been unceasingly her battle-field. These, my Lord, are the real reasons why my nation will regard as a calamity its incorporation with Austria, or with any other power, in the quality of a province, to the sacrifice of its own political existence. These wishes, these ideas, are not the offspring of an excited brain, but the matured feeling of the soundest part of the nation and the result of a long experience.

During this statement, the Minister appeared strongly to feel the truth and importance of the arguments; and after having demanded several details, he concluded by these words—"That the lot of your country may be happy, is a matter of deep interest with my nation. I am sure that Austria will do all that is possible effectively to contribute to that result. Most undoubtedly her intentions are liberal; and I will give you all the support I can to that end. I repeat, that I do not wish to mislead you: I will not do anything, I cannot do anything, in a course opposed to Austria; I will do everything to put you at one, to place you on the best footing with her; and I advise you, on your own parts, to do your utmost in that view."

This, Mr. President, was the result of a conference that lasted three quarters of an hour. The interview with Lord Aberdeen was much shorter; his response was to a similar purport. The frankness with which these announcements fell from the most important negotiators in Europe appears to me to leave no doubt as to our destiny, and indicates the path we shall have henceforth to pursue

(Signed)

COUNT FREDERICK CONFALONIERI.

NOTE B. — Page 104.

. "They now shifted the prisoners from one prison to another, progressively aggravating their position. Chains were placed on their legs; a knife and fork was denied them; the ordinary was altered to a *carte de restaurant*, with prices fixed at more than double the value; the prayer-books previously conceded were withdrawn; and letters were to be confined to family affairs, so that it might

be thought without that our treatment was very different. The sentinels at the door of each cell were sometimes relieved every two hours, sometimes every hour, and even every half-hour. There was a constant noise of muskets, or of the fetters of galley-slaves whom they compelled to parade the passages, of *sbirri* and gendarmes opening and shutting doors, creating a horrible confusion day and night, till the place resembled hell.

The Military-Auditor Avenati, sometimes in obedience to a summons, sometimes spontaneously, came to see the prisoners and note their moral state, to settle with the Governor on the plan of treatment.

. The art with which the Auditor shaped his examination so as to harass my mind was incredible; and when, perceiving that he put illegal suggestive questions, I endeavoured to avoid them, he made me reply to them, threatening to retain as admitted everything that I did not answer negatively.

Levi, the gaoler, who had been justly called *the Governor's shirt*, seconded wonderfully the arbitrary and iniquitous system observed towards us. He was thoroughly acquainted with every proceeding; and in fact, as I became sensible in the end, there was nothing secret from the officers or turn-keys of the prison; informed of all that appeared on the depositions, they had to conduct themselves towards the prisoners according to respective instructions, and to give account each day of what they had observed.

. After the condemnation and execution of the sergeants, they tried to make us believe in the sentence and execution of the officer Pianavia. His cell was in the same passage as mine. He had a habit of singing; but one Saturday he suddenly ceased. On the Sunday there was a coming and going of people without end. A guard-party was placed on the great staircase, and the sentinels at each cell were relieved every half-hour with considerable noise. The Governor arrived, and was engaged a long time in the cell of the supposed condemned. At three in the afternoon, there came into my cell the General commanding the citadel, followed by several persons of his Staff, and a chaplain who had more the look of an assassin than of a priest. All appeared sad and almost in tears. The General accosted me, and asked in a voice of emotion, if I was quiet; I replied, yes. He left, after having made me exchange a few words with the chaplain.

The noise continued the whole night. At the break of day, I heard some one whom I thought to be Pianavia traverse the passage with rapid steps, and a few moments after three shots announced the execution of a sentence; I wept bitterly for the man who had already signed the ruin of so many of his unfortunate brethren.

Two days later, the General came again to see me, and told me that he thought matters were coming to a close. On the morrow, Major Galimberti came to take away my books, namely, a Bible, a book of prayers, and a work on the illustrious men of Piedmont; the day after, they changed my cell and put irons on my leg.

My new cell was wretched and dark, having one window with a double grating and a door with double bars. On fixing my chain to the ring in the wall, Levi took care to leave it long enough for me to approach the window; and he told me during the operation, that the law of the King was the law of God, and that transgressors ought to await their punishment with resignation. Opposite mine was the cell of poor Vochieri, who was on the eve of his execution. They had made three holes at the bottom of my door, that were half closed up; and as the door of Vochieri's cell was designedly left open, I could not sit at my window without observing light beaming through these holes. On looking through, I saw poor Vochieri seated on a chair, a heavy chain on his leg and two sentinels with drawn swords by his side; from time to time he changed his position, but his guards never quitted him for an instant, and never exchanged a word. Another soldier was at the door with a musket, and, standing in the middle, he often intercepted this sad prospect. Two capuchins sometimes came to talk with Vochieri. This lasted nearly a week; and I had always before my eyes this spectacle of agony, till they took him out to die, shot by *shirri*. To complete this scene of horror and perfect my confusion, there was a man ill in a cell contiguous to mine, who was moaning the night long and calling loudly for assistance; which he never got, for the keys were in the hands of Levi, whom no one dared to wake.

A few days afterwards, I was transferred to another cell, damp and scarcely finished. The smell of the fresh mortar was insupportable; I was seized with pains in my limbs.

Then, my body and my mind enfeebled, the interrogations were renewed.

These were conducted in a manner cruelly calculated to perplex my faculties. At every instant, as soon as I began to enter into explanations, the Auditor interrupted me by saying, that I should take care what I was uttering—that I was evidently embarrassed—and that my explanations added to the danger of my position. In a little while, he roughly changed his tone, and declared that I was palpably guilty, and that a note should be made of everything that made against me, without taking the slightest account of anything I advanced in my defence.

I grew convinced that my death was intended.

Then came, one after another and unlooked-for, the perusal of depositions given by several of my fellow-prisoners, Segurè, Viora, Pianavia, and Girardenghi. I was overcome, bewildered.

However, I demanded a defender. Sacco, the Secretary of the tribunal, suggested Captain Turrina; but having heard mention of one Vicino, I said that I should prefer him, as belonging to a family of my acquaintance.

I obtained neither one nor the other. I thought of preparing my defence myself; but though two days had gone by since the close of all proceedings preliminary to the trial, I had neither ink or paper. My relatives, who had arrived in town, received an order for instant departure.

At length, Levi, my cerberus, proposed as my defender Lieutenant Rapallo. Despairing of any other aid, I accepted him.

He came; but not to speak of my defence. He, the only protector on whom I had to rely, declared to me that my situation was extremely dangerous. He told me, that the Government *knew* that I had been one of the most active agents of the Association; that I could not flatter myself with the slightest hope of escaping punishment; and that he saw *but one path to safety*. That, besides, my secret was no longer one; that everybody was divulging it; that Stara was on the eve of confessing everything, as he knew from his advocate; that Azario himself had entreated to be allowed to make revelations, and that they only waited authority from Turin to receive them; that moreover, I might lay down very liberal conditions, and they would be accepted.

Twice I repulsed these overtures. At the third interview I yielded.

NOTE C. — Page 70.

In the brief interval of time that has elapsed since I wrote these pages on the Court of Rome, two executions have taken place at Ravenna, accompanied by a number of sentences of imprisonment for twenty years or for life. Likewise, two decrees have made their appearance, characteristic of the imbecility and brutal ferocity of the system; the first, from the Bishop of Sinigaglia, forbidding young men to frequent a house in which there are young persons of the other sex, unless there be a promise of marriage; the second, from the Archbishop of Ferrara, forbidding medical men to afford their assistance to sick persons if they are not furnished, on the third day of the malady, with a ticket of confession.

NOTE D.

I should feel myself culpably insensible with regard to the noble efforts of Mr. Duncombe, in the matter of the Opening of the Letters, if I did not here record, at the end of a publication having Italy for its object, two documents, that are at once memorials of the sympathy his vivid oratory displayed towards the Italian cause, and of the gratitude of those Italians who have been enabled by circumstances to express their feelings.

At a public meeting of Italians residing in London, held at Cesarini's Rooms, it was unanimously resolved,

"That the thanks of this meeting be conveyed to Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, Esq., M.P., for his generous and spirited conduct in Parliament respecting the violation of private letters at the Post-office.

"That a medal, struck in commemoration of the brothers Bandiera, and their fellow-sufferers at Cosenza, be presented to the same honourable gentleman, as a testimonial of the respect and gratitude of this meeting, and respectfully submitted to his acceptance by an appropriate address.

"That a deputation, composed of the Chairman, and two other gentlemen, to be chosen by this meeting, wait upon the honourable gentleman at his earliest convenience, charged with the testimonial and address above mentioned."

Accordingly, L. Mariotti, H. Manara, and F. O. Beggi, waited upon Mr. Thomas Duncombe, at the Albany, when

the medal* was presented and the following address delivered :—

“Sir—We have the honour to appear before you, charged with a mission from a large number of our countrymen residing in England.

“We are requested by them to tender their feelings of profound respect and sincere gratitude to you for the upright and generous manner in which you vindicated the honour of English hospitality, by loudly denouncing the dark transactions of the government who disgracefully violated it.

“Conscious of having performed a sacred duty to your own country, you are, no doubt, equally aware that you have also advocated the cause of an illustrious though unfortunate nation; whilst the government you opposed basely prostituted the power with which a free people invested them, to make it subservient to the sanguinary views of foreign despotism.

“Sir—We would request you to accept a medal which has been struck in honour of nine Italians, lately shot at Cosenza for the cause of the liberty, unity, and independence of their country.

“It is with pain, Sir, that in our desire to do you honour, we have nothing to offer but what is intended as a commemoration of a national disaster; but you, who have but recently experienced how, even in a land of freedom, injustice may prevail to an alarming extent; how espionage, forgery, and calumny may be practised by men entrusted with the highest authority, and (even whilst in their heart disavowing such nefarious measures) sanctioned by a large majority of other men chosen to exercise a salutary restraint

* The medal, an exquisite master-piece of engraving, by Benjamin Wyon, Esq., is now exhibited at Messrs. Wiley and Putnam's, 6, Waterloo-place. The one presented to Mr. Duncombe is laid in a mourning frame, and bears an Italian inscription, of which the following is a literal translation :—

“To Thomas Slingsby Duncombe, Esq., M.P.; because he honoured with generous words in Parliament the memory of their brethren slain for the sake of Italian faith, at Cosenza, in 1844; because he manfully upheld the rights of the exiles, basely, and with fell intent, violated in their private correspondence by the English government; because he hurled back the slander aimed at one of their countrymen in palliation of that enormous breach of hospitality—many Italians, in public meeting assembled, voted this slight but dearest pledge of their gratitude and applause.”

“MAY 23RD, 1845.”

upon the former—you will be easily disposed to appreciate a sacred cause rather from its justice than from its success—you will feel that there is a depth of adversity bordering on sublimity, and we are assured you will share our reverence for the blood of our martyrs.

“In the name, then, of our slain brethren, in the name of many thousands of our living countrymen who might forfeit life or liberty by merely uniting with us in this demonstration, receive, Sir, the thanks of all good Italians; and God speed the day when the whole emancipated country may be allowed the free expression of its debt of gratitude to you.

“We would likewise request you to thank, in our name, such of the members of Parliament as seconded and supported you during the numerous debates on this subject.”

To which Mr. Duncombe made the following answer :—

“Gentlemen—I can assure you that you have only made a fair estimate of my feelings when you say that I can appreciate a sacred cause rather from its justice than from its success. I do so appreciate it; and sincerely trust, that the day may not be far distant when your illustrious country, unawed by the perfidy of a British Cabinet, undismayed by domestic tyranny, and untrammelled by foreign despotism, will avenge the national insult she has endured, and claim satisfaction for her murdered martyrs, by proclaiming her national independence and her oppressor’s treason.

“Gentlemen—I accept the proffered testimony of your approval of my humble services with a sorrowful pride. Sorrow for the loss that you and Italy have sustained, and pride that through my exertions the stain of the martyrs’ blood has been wiped from the English character, and stamped upon the real perpetrators of the foul deed; and trifling though the gift may appear in your eyes, I shall proudly preserve it as a valued testimony of good men’s approval, and shall bequeath it as a relic commemorative of what England was in the days of her rulers’ perfidy, and as a warning to rising generations of the imbecility of hoping to arrest the progress of freedom by the terrors of the scaffold.

“Gentlemen—In compliance with your wish, it will be my duty to convey your thanks to those independent members of Parliament who dared to exercise a constitutional

privilege in spite of ministerial influence or state necessity. And in once more thanking you for the honour you have this day done me, I believe I am only expressing the sentiments of the great body of my countrymen, when I say that they sincerely wish your noble cause may speedily be brought to a successful and triumphant issue."

At the very time that this manifestation took place, another medal was struck in France, at the expense of the Italian exiles, in honour of our political martyrs; and, by spontaneous impulse, the first copy was destined for Mr. Duncombe. The presentation was intrusted to me; and I insert here the letter of Mr. Duncombe in acknowledgment, as evidence that I have discharged my mission.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Pray do me the favour to assure those distinguished members of 'Young Italy' resident in France, who have done me the honour to transmit through you so beautiful a symbol of their national faith, how deeply sensible I am of the compliment that they have been pleased to pay me; and that should an opportunity ever occur, that I can in my place in the British Parliament aid the holy cause of Italian freedom and independence, no exertions shall be spared on my part to give effect to their wishes, or to do justice to the sacred memory of the martyrs of Cosenza.

"I have the honour to remain, my dear Sir,

"Yours, very faithfully,

"THOS. DUNCOMBE."

"To Joseph Mazzini, Esq.,
London."

The Medal presents on one side a figure crowned with thorns, (Italy,) lighting a torch at a flame issuing from the urn that encloses the ashes of the martyrs. On the urn is inscribed—*Nostris ex ossibus ultor*: on the pedestal—*Shot at Cosenza on the 25th July 1844, under Ferdinand King*. Behind the tomb springs a cypress; round the medal are the names of the victims; at foot, the words—*A memoria ed esempio*—(To

memory and example.) On the reverse, in the centre of a garland of palm and laurel, is—*Ora e sempre*—(*Now and ever*)—the device of Young Italy; and then, the words of the brothers Bandiera—*E' fede nostra giovare l'italica libertà morti meglio che vivi*—(*It is our trust to aid Italian liberty better dead than living.*)

The Medal struck at London contains on one side the names of those members of the Association who have suffered martyrdom for the cause and signed their faith with their blood; on the other a wreath of oak, palm, ivy, and cypress, intermingled with the sacred words of the Association; and in the centre the legend—*Ora e sempre: la Giovine Italia ai suoi martiri*—(*Now and Ever: Young Italy to her Martyrs.*)

NOTE E.

It may be necessary to remark, that the momentary terms in this work refer to Austrian-Italian currency. The florin is worth, say two shillings English; and sixty kreutzers go to the florin. The lira is worth, say eight-pence English.

ERRATA.

I base all that I have advanced as to Austrian Administration on documents pertaining to the year 1840. Writing in exile, at a distance from the country, and with the tomb-like silence that envelops everything the Austrian Government deems fit to do, it is difficult for me to keep up with the petty changes that take place from year to year in those provinces of Italy under her yoke. So that I have to notify, from information very recently received, slight modifications in two or three of my statements. My readers may, however, be assured, that these temporary and uncertain modifications in nowise affect the basis of the judgment I have pronounced. Thus, among the officials classed as Austrians or Tyrolese, in the Table at p. 16-17, the Vice-President of the Giunta del Censimento, and the President of the Court of Appeal at Milan, must be erased: they are now Italians. By way of compensation, the number of *Austrian* Councillors of the Tribunal of First Instance is augmented. The President of the Criminal Court at Milan is also an Austrian. I am delighted, however, that these changes afford me an opportunity of correcting my Table by the insertion of some omissions. I had not in fact mentioned the Supreme Senate of Justice at Verona, of which the President and nearly two-thirds of the Councillors are never Italians; nor the Provincial Delegates, of whom three at least are Germans; nor the higher clergy: a German is Archbishop of Milan, having a revenue of 160,000 Austrian *lire*, of which he sends a great part into Austria; German is the Archbishop of Venice; German the Bishop of Verona, &c.

The Guards of the Confines mentioned p. 17 and elsewhere, are now incorporated with the Guards *di Finanza*.

A master has been appointed in the Gymnasia, for *religion*, p. 26, l. 15.

The Velociferi, p. 46, have been very lately freed from monopoly.

At page 40, line 12, an important correction is requisite. Beginning at "Thus, the only two imposts," down to "2 florins 13 kreutzers," the sentence should read in this way—"Thus, of the only two imposts that have been abolished by Austria since 1815—the tax on succession to an inheritance

and the personal or capitation-tax — the capitation-tax (*testatico*) has been so, and of this the author seems to be ignorant, for the other portions of the empire, but not for Italy. It is still in force against us, not amounting to 30 kreutzers, as this author says, but rather to nearly two florins 13 kreutzers. The tax on succession, maintained till 1840 in the Venetian provinces, has found its substitute in the new tax on stamps of the same year."

Beside whatever imperfections may have been entailed on my pamphlet from my own inacquaintance with the forms of English typography, I may plead in extenuation of errors, that my words have been put into type by one of my fellow-countrymen. I subjoin some errata that seem to be important ; others the reader will detect at a glance.

- P. 12, l. 8, "it in consequence," *dele* "it."
- P. 12, l. 11, for "his immobility," read "its."
- P. 16, l. 29, for "Gymnastics," read "Gymnasiums."
- P. 31, l. 27, after "at Milan," add, "and at Venice."
- P. 36, l. 21, for "17·7," read "0,177."
- P. 38, l. 4, after "saltworks," add, "of the rest of."
- P. 39, l. 9, for "were formerly," read "are."
- P. 48, l. 9, for "In the distant," read "On the distant."
- P. 72, l. 29, for "These," read "There."
- P. 93, l. 30, for "Attached," read "Attacked."
- P. 95, l. 9, for "his is," read "is his."
- P. 96, first line of note, read "submitted" for "submit."
- P. 97, l. 32, for "in his deathbed," read "on his deathbed."
- P. 102, l. 15, for "proved," read "proven."
- P. 111, l. 11, for "sects" read "septs."

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NOV 26 1966

LD URL NOV 17 1972

REC'D LD-URL

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NOV 30 1972

REC'D LD-URL

SEP 01 1972

LD URL

MAY 12 1996

APR 12 1996

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FEB 6 1998



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